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University of Glasgow

Government-Community Partnership in the Provision of Education in Rural Tanzania

Amina Nasibu Kamando

Cert. Ed. (Mandaka TTC, Tanzania); Diploma Adult Education (Institute of Adult
Education, Tanzania); BED-ADE (UDSM, Tanzania); MA-Ed (UDSM, Tanzania)

**Thesis Submitted in Fulfilment for the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

**School of Education
College of Social Sciences
University of Glasgow**

Supervisors: Dr. Lesley Doyle and Mr. Rod Purcell

June 2014

Abstract

Investing in education can be seen as a tool that can facilitate a better quality of life for individuals and for society in general. Through a strategy of partnership working, the poor in the society have more chance of accessing educational opportunities. In Tanzania, provision of education is the collaborative task of various groups including local communities. However, despite various efforts through established educational programmes and reforms, poverty levels are still high, particularly in rural areas, suggesting that efforts to reduce poverty through education have not yet produced significant results. Using the experiences and perspectives of people living in Tanzanian rural communities, this study explored the nature of the government-community partnership (GCP) in the provision of educational opportunities. The study examined the literature to explore tensions around the concepts and issues in the discourse on the collective working spirit including the wider perspectives offered by the historical background and the political complexity of partnership working in community development.

The study adopted a qualitative multiple-case study approach and used multiple sources of evidence (semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions, non-participant observation and documents) to gather the in-depth data necessary to explore the practice of GCP. In writing this account, the analysis and discussion of findings were explored through the lens of a GCP networking framework offered by the theories of social networks and social capital. To facilitate the analysis of GCP, four key themes were identified. The first theme explored the context under which community participation is practised within the GCP framework. The second analysed micro-politics in decision-making and the implementation process of community development. The third examined the nature of leadership at local levels in GCP working relationships. The fourth theme considered the challenges of current GCP practice and possible future alternatives.

The findings from this study suggest that, despite GCP appearing to be a complicated social phenomenon, it is and will remain, a reliable solution to the socio-economic problems of the rural poor populace. The problems associated

with GCP practice for education and community development in rural communities are systemic and associated with a system in which power is disproportionately distributed among the GCP actors. The nature of this GCP working relationship has prevented opportunities for creating productive network ties and for the collective development of social capital. The study concluded that strengthening network ties and building social capital might not in themselves be adequate; rather, there is a need for a responsive government with a grounded mutual power structure based on transparency and trust.

Keywords: Partnership working, government-community partnership, community development, power relations, education provision, social networks, social capital, rural communities and Tanzania.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	i
Table of Contents	ii
List of Figures.....	vi
Dedication	vii
Acknowledgement.....	viii
Author's declaration.....	ix
Acronyms and Abbreviations.....	x
Chapter 1 Introduction to the Study.....	1
1.1 Statement of the problem.....	1
1.2 Purpose of the study	4
1.3 Research questions.....	5
1.4 Scope of the study.....	5
1.5 Structure of the thesis.....	6
Chapter 2 Background and the Context of the Study	9
2.1 Introduction	9
2.2 Political and ideological context: a historical perspective.....	9
2.3 Community development in ujamaa context.....	15
2.4 Development of education in Tanzania	17
2.5 Adult education.....	23
2.6 Poverty reduction, education and community participation.....	25
Chapter 3 Review of Literature	30
3.1 Introduction	30
3.2 Community development.....	31
3.2.1 The idea of community	31
3.2.2 Community development.....	35
3.2.3 Empowerment and power relations in community development....	39
3.2.4 Needs-based/Assets-based community development approaches...	44
3.3 Community participation	48
3.3.1 Patterns of participation	49
3.3.2 Motives for people participation	52
3.3.3 Policy and decision-making: a community participation task.....	53
3.3.4 Leadership and community participation	58
3.3.5 Governance and 'good' governance in the GCP context.....	63

3.4	Partnership working	68
3.4.1	Principles of effective partnership.....	72
3.4.2	Partnership working for education provision	75
3.5	Conclusion	78
Chapter 4	Theoretical Framework	79
4.1	Introduction	79
4.2	Social networks and social capital theories in GCP rural context: the rationale	79
4.3	Social network theory.....	85
4.3.1	Strong and weak ties in network structures	89
4.4	Social capital theory	91
4.4.1	Forms of social capital.....	93
4.5	Conclusion	94
Chapter 5	Research Methodology	96
5.1	Introduction	96
5.2	Research design.....	96
5.2.1	Qualitative approach.....	97
5.2.2	Multiple-case study research	99
5.3	Research instruments used.....	101
5.3.1	Semi-structured interviews	101
5.3.2	Focus group discussions.....	104
5.3.3	Non-participant observation	105
5.3.4	Documents.....	106
5.4	Sampling and participants for the study	107
5.4.1	Sampling procedures	107
5.4.2	Participants for the study	108
5.4.3	Anonymity and confidentiality.....	109
5.5	Research setting and gaining access.....	110
5.5.1	Research setting	110
5.5.2	Gaining access to research sites.....	112
5.6	Pilot study	113
5.7	Data management and analysis procedure	113
5.7.1	Data management	113
5.7.2	Thematic analysis.....	114
5.8	Validity and reliability in qualitative research.....	120

5.9	Ethical compliance	121
Chapter 6	Government-Community Partnership in Education Provision	123
6.1	Introduction	123
6.2	Community participation: ‘A poverty reduction tool’	124
6.3	‘Value of education’: a motivational factor for GCP participation?	126
6.4	Attitudes towards collective working.....	130
6.5	Financing education within the GCP framework.....	134
6.5.1	Government and community contributions – the GCP.....	134
6.5.2	The extent of contributions from the GCP.....	137
6.6	Participation patterns in terms of age group.....	140
6.7	Discussion of findings	143
Chapter 7	Micro-Politics of Decision-Making and Implementation in GCP	151
7.1	Introduction	151
7.2	Theory versus practice in the GCP policy-making process: ‘we are the implementers’	152
7.3	‘Inspiring and mobilising’ or ‘manipulating’: GCP political tensions ...	155
7.4	Implementing policy in GCP framework: ‘education provision’	157
7.4.1	Planning procedures for implementation: bottom-up model?	159
7.4.2	GCP and political tensions in implementing policy: ‘fatalistic feelings and disempowerment’	165
7.5	The impact of politics on the quality of education.....	169
7.6	Discussion of findings	173
Chapter 8	Leadership and Government-Community Partnership	183
8.1	Introduction	183
8.2	Leadership structure and commitment: ‘something is wrong’	184
8.3	Local leadership motivation: ‘even a token of appreciation’	189
8.4	Local leaders’ power: ‘blessings and rubber-stamps’	190
8.5	Mobilisation strategies for community activities: ‘Tins and trumpets’.	195
8.6	Lack of leadership capacity building	197
8.7	Discussion of findings	200
Chapter 9	Challenges of Practising GCP: the Way Forward?	208
9.1	Introduction	208
9.2	Clash of perspectives in the practice of GCP: <i>ujamaa</i> versus contemporary society	209
9.2.1	Ujamaa: ‘discipline, courtesy and determination’	209

9.2.2	Maintaining discipline for collective working during ujamaa: a 'frightened discipline'	211
9.2.3	Practising GCP in contemporary society: 'lack of civic education'	213
9.2.4	Practising GCP in a non-transparent contemporary society: 'Ours' versus 'mine'	215
9.3	Ways forward for effective GCP	218
9.3.1	The need to restore ujamaa principles.....	219
9.3.2	[Re]activate adult education classes and community education ...	221
9.3.3	Community-based research and wider context partnerships.....	223
9.4	Discussion of findings	227
Chapter 10	Conclusions	242
10.1	Introduction.....	242
10.2	Summary of the main findings	243
10.2.1	The nature of Government-Community Partnership	244
10.2.2	Micro-politics in GCP related policy: 'Power relations'	246
10.2.3	Challenges and opportunities for an improved GCP.....	251
10.3	Implications of the study's findings	256
10.4	Limitations of the study and recommendations for further research	261
10.5	Reflection on the theoretical framework in the study of GCP	263
10.6	Final remarks	264
	References	268
	Appendices	294

List of Figures

Figure 3.1: Ladder of citizen participation	50
Figure 3.2: Leadership as an interactive process	59
Figure 3.3: Six dimensions of good governance	66
Figure 3.4: Principles of effective partnership	72
Figure 3.5: Main stages of developing a partnership	74
Figure 4.1: GCP networking framework for rural community development	84
Figure 5.1: Identifying themes through thematic analysis	116
Figure 5.2: A thematic map: Key themes and sub-themes extracted from data through thematic analysis.....	119
Figure 6.1: Breakdown for school building project in D1	138
Figure 7.1: The bottom-up planning system for implementation: ‘people’s priorities’	161
Figure 8.1: Leadership structure in GCP working relationship.....	185
Figure 8.2: Targeted groups for capacity building plan in D1.....	199
Figure 8.3: A disconnected network ties of leadership in GCP working.....	204

Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to my beloved father, the late Mr. Nasibu Kamando Mbaga (1939-2001), who did not live long enough to celebrate his daughter's achievement.

And

To my brother Daudi Nasibu Mbaga, who his encouragement and support has inspired my success in life and this thesis.

Acknowledgement

Special thanks goes to the University of Dar-es-Salaam (my employer) – through the World Bank Capacity Building (C1B2) Project – for funding my doctorate studies in the UK. I would also like to thank the University of Dar-es-Salaam, the Regional Education offices for granting me permission to undertake the research in Districts, Wards, Villages and schools.

My sincere thanks and appreciation are extended to my supervisors, Dr. Lesley Doyle and Rod Purcell for giving me all the needed support during my study at the University of Glasgow. Their supervision has been regular with valuable timely, instructive and constructive comments, which have sharpened my understanding. Thank you.

I am also indebted to all the participants in the study - without their willing participation, this study would not have been possible. In addition, at the School of Education, University of Dar-es-salaam, special thanks goes to Professor Abel Ishumi, my teacher, mentor and colleague. I would also like to express my appreciation to the staff (both academic and administrators) in the School of Education, University of Glasgow for their support throughout my study.

I wish to thank all the postgraduate students at the Glasgow University, my brothers, sisters and friends. They are part of my academic journey. In a special way I want to thank my son, Iddy and my daughters, Mwajabu and Hadija. Despite being at their delicate teen-ages the time they needed me most, their prayers and tolerance have significantly helped me to complete this study.

To all, I say thank you – *Asante sana*

Author's declaration

I, **Amina Nasibu Kamando**, hereby declare that the doctoral thesis entitled, '***Government-Community Partnership in the Provision of Education in Rural Tanzania***', is a result of my original and independent research, and that all sources used have been duly acknowledged. This thesis has not been submitted to this or other University for the same or similar award.

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Acronyms and Abbreviations

ABCD	Asset-Based Community Development Approach
CBOs	Community-Based Organisations
CCM	Chama cha Mapinduzi
CDO	Community Development Officer
CONFINTEA	French word for ‘CONFérence INTernationale sur l’Education des Adultes’, meaning ‘International Conference on Adult Education’
DEO	District Education Officer
EFA	Education For All
ESDP	Education Sector Development Plan
ESR	Education for Self-Reliance
ETP	Education and Training Policy
GBS	General Budget Support
GCP	Government-Community Partnership
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GUNi	Global University Network for Innovation
ICF	International Consultative Forum
ILO	International Labour Organisation
INGOs	International Non-Governmental Organisations
LGRP	Local Government Reform Programme
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MKUKUTA	Mkakati wa Kukuza Uchumi na Kupunguza Umaskini Tanzania
NBCD	Needs-Based Community Development Approach
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
NSGRP	National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty
O&OD	Opportunities and Obstacles of Development

PEDP	Primary Education Development Plan
PPP	Private-Public Partnership
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programmes
SACMEQ	Southern and Eastern Africa Consortium for Monitoring Education Quality
SEDP	Secondary Education Development Plan
TANU	Tanganyika African National Union
UPE	Universal Primary Education
URT	The United Republic of Tanzania
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VEO	Village Executive Officer
WCEFA	World Conference on Education for All
WDC	Ward Development Council
WEC	Ward Education Coordinator
WEF	World Education Forum
WEO	Ward Executive Officer

Chapter 1

Introduction to the Study

1.1 Statement of the problem

Since the mid-1980s, the government of Tanzania, like other sub-Saharan African countries, has been impelled by circumstances, particularly financial constraints but also the force of neoliberal political thought for socio-economic development (Moshi, 2010), to invite the private sector and other willing partners to participate in education provision and in sharing the costs it was previously shouldering alone (United Republic of Tanzania (URT), 1995a). Local communities and community-based organisations have been encouraged to collaborate with the government in this process. The purpose was to help the government in lessening the disparities in social services¹ provision between the poor and the rich.

Despite the efforts that have been made through various established programmes and reforms aimed at achieving Universal Primary Education (UPE) through the Primary Education Development Plan (PEDP) in 2002, and manpower preparation through the Secondary Education Development Plan (SEDP) in 2004, poverty levels are still high in Tanzania (UNDP, 2005, p.10). Poverty is widespread in rural areas with significant district level differences in income poverty (UNDP, 2005; Woods, 2008). The URT (2009c, p.94) has pointed out that about 74% of the population live in rural areas and depend on agriculture as a source of income, while crop contribution in the country's GDP is only 0.1%. Young people, including those involved in subsistence agriculture and livestock production, are among the groups in society most at risk. For this thesis, this implies that efforts to reduce poverty through education have not yet demonstrated significant results. Simultaneously, it is widely recognised that investing in education is a catalyst leading to a better quality life for individuals

¹ Provision of social services in Africa, Tanzania in particular, include: health, education, water and well construction, rural and urban roads construction (see URT, 1996).

in society and the nation in general (see Nyerere, 1967; World Bank, 1996; Omari, 1999; Malale, 2002; UNESCO, 2011b; Mtey and Sulle, 2013).

The quality of education in Tanzania has remained a major challenge (Omari *et al.*, 1983; Mulengeki, 2004; Sifuna, 2007) despite the ongoing education transformation through PEDP and SEDP and the utilisation of both government and communities' efforts and resources in the form of 'government-community partnership' (GCP). This challenge is partly based on the fact that class-sizes in some schools are over one third larger than before 2000 (when PEDP and later SEDP were introduced). Teacher-pupil and pupil-book ratios have increased, while teachers' shortage and the quality of teachers' living conditions have not changed (see Southern and Eastern Africa Consortium for Monitoring Education Quality (SACMEQ), 2011; UNDP, 2005; Davidson, 2004). For example, the SACMEQ (2011, p.3) reported that between 2000 and 2007, these important ratios in Tanzanian primary schools have exceeded the national benchmark of 40:1, i.e. the pupil-teacher ratio rose to 63:1 and the pupil-class ratio has risen to 56:1. United Nation Officials (2006) has also estimated that about 20 million children in Africa's Southern and Eastern regions are deprived of their right to quality education. In Tanzania, very few children (less than half) completed primary school, with the rural poor being the most excluded (Rakesh, 2003, p.1). Meanwhile, education expenditure has increased (from 12% in mid 1980s-1995 to 22% in 2009/10 (URT, 2009d, p.47).

Considering the spirit of collective working or community participation among the Tanzanians since *ujamaa*² in the 1960s and the ongoing GCP, experience shows that some areas in Tanzania (Kilimanjaro, Bukoba, Njombe, Mufindi, etc) where the spirit of community-based activities has been strong, there has been considerable school development in terms of the construction of community-based schools (see Irira, 1977; Masudi, 1986; Galabawa and Ishumi, 1990; Makombe, 1992; Maduki, 1993; Mulengeki, 2004; Mlaki, 2005; Kamando, 2007). However, not all communities have succeeded in rising to the challenge of

² *Ujamaa* is a Swahili word for socialism, meaning 'familyhood' and/or 'Africanness'; the concept upon which Tanzanian socialism is based as a strategy for social-economic development and a means of eliminating poverty, diseases, ignorance, discrimination and miserable living conditions. *Ujamaa villages* were established to pull people together for collective farming and other socio-economic activities (Mwakikagile, 2006-*Tanzania under Mwalimu Nyerere*)

partnership working for education provision, while others have tried but to varying levels of success (Galabawa, 2000, p.109).

Furthermore, it seems that GCP has not been working at the same level of understanding and articulation, with the result that issues are emerging concerning deepening community inequalities in educational opportunity and wealth distribution. Given the fact that some studies have tended to examine (in the context of community participation or GCP working) the effectiveness of reforms related to education, quality and management of community schools as well as the effectiveness of public-private partnerships in education provision (see Psacharopoulos, 1989; Lugayila, 2002; Sumra, 2003; Mulengeki, 2004; Rwiza, 2004), the focus of this study is on how the GCP works. It is therefore important to find the conditions under which GCP works and the nexus involved in the process in terms of power relations between actors and the model employed for community development activities.

The data collected and analysed for this thesis exemplify the reality and contradictions in some communities in the implementation of policies and reforms regarding education provision through GCP. The data was collected over six months in rural Tanzania (September 2010 to February 2011), using a qualitative multiple-case study strategy (see chapter 5 on methodology) to gather in-depth information from ordinary community members in two rural districts.

The analysis and discussion of findings (in chapters 6, 7, 8 and 9), was viewed through the lens of GCP networking framework (see figure 4.1) offered by the theories of social networks and social capital (discussed in chapter 4). The main assumption was that when network ties (strong and weak), connections and actions in society are mutually reciprocated with shared values, norms, equal power relations and mutual trust among actors involved in GCP, they become a basis for building stocks in various forms of social capital, which is an investment that is necessary for social and economic prosperity in society (see Coleman, 1990; Putnam, 2000; Prell, 2003; Dale and Newman, 2010). In this context, there is a high possibility of GCP actors working collectively to provide relevant and quality education to the rural poor communities and thereby reduce poverty.

Unless otherwise specified, ‘education’ in this thesis refers to the primary and secondary schools that the GCPs are charged with providing for the rural poor communities. The significant role these educational levels play in poverty reduction, as both the foundational stage for knowledge and skills building and a prerequisite to access higher education is discussed in detail in chapter 2 section 2.4 and 2.6 (see also Mtey and Sulle, 2013). In addition, the provision of the two educational levels as pointed out earlier and in section 2.6 is a collaborative effort between government and communities. Again, ‘education provision’ throughout the thesis refers to ‘primary and secondary education’.

Other levels of education referred to in this thesis include adult education and tertiary education, particularly higher education. Adult education as pointed out in section 2.5 and in chapter 9, is a crucial educational level in strengthening community participation and GCP working by creating awareness, knowledge and skills among the GCP actors. Higher education in the thesis refers to education beyond school, particularly at university level, the education level that is believed to assure the young people with employment opportunities in the labour market (see chapter 2 section 2.6). In addition, higher education in the thesis is discussed in the context of universities’ ‘third mission’ of community engagement (see chapter 9). Here universities are urged to extend their networks and collaborate with local people and the GCP through research in improving the quality of education and reduce poverty among the rural populace.

1.2 Purpose of the study

Partnership working has received a worldwide recognition as the best mechanism for solving socio-economic problems and enhancing the provision of social services including education (Bray, 2000b, 2004; Dhillon, 2005; United States Agency for International Development (USAID), 2007). Developing countries, Tanzania in particular, have been promoting partnership working for education provision in various ways ranging from public to private institutions and organisations as well as from individuals to communities (URT, 1995a). This study is concerned with the provision of education in the rural communities through GCP. The central purpose is to explore the nature of GCP in the provision of education in rural communities in Tanzania. It examines how GCP works through

those involved in GCP activities – their perspectives, experiences and challenges regarding GCP and education provision at community level. The study is expected to inform policy on education provision and community participation and to suggest a way forward for an optimal partnership working in the light of rural communities’ understanding and experiences.

1.3 Research questions

Taking into account the statement of the problem, the purpose of the study, the literature and the theoretical framework, the overarching research question that guided the study is *‘To what extent has Government-Community Partnership strengthened or weakened the provision of education in rural Tanzanian communities’?* The key research questions were as follows:

1. Under what conditions do local communities participate effectively as partners with government in education and community development activities?
2. In what ways does the government involve local communities in education and community development activities?
3. How can GCP be considered a potential mechanism for education provision in local communities?
4. Can theories of social network and social capital help to conceptualise GCP and to understand their effectiveness in education provision in Tanzania?
5. Do GCP in Tanzania produce social capital? If so, how and where is it manifested and is it utilised for education provision?

1.4 Scope of the study

As noted above, the aim of this thesis is to explore the nature of GCP in education provision at rural levels in Tanzania. The scope of the study was determined by the fact that partnership working is a broad perspective, one that includes various groups of actors (such as government/public sectors, non-governmental organisations, community-based organisations, international non-governmental organisations, private organisations/sectors, individuals, and

communities); this study is limited to the partnership between government and communities (GCP) at rural levels. This choice was also based on the fact that the majority of the population in Tanzania (like other poor countries) live in rural communities with persistent acute poverty, whilst developmental projects are directed at rural areas with the aim of improving the standard of living.

1.5 Structure of the thesis

This thesis consists of ten chapters, including this introduction (chapter one) which states the research problem, purpose, research questions and the scope of the study. The second chapter provides the background and the context of the study. It provides a historical and political-ideological context (soon after independence) upon which the community development practice and the development of education in Tanzania are shaped.

The third chapter provides the review of literature based on issues which emerged in the wider perspective of community development, community participation and partnership working in the context of GCP working. Firstly, the chapter discusses the concept and practice of community and community development in a GCP context. It notes the historical and political complexity and tensions in concepts and practices of the phenomena under study, highlighting issues concerning empowerment and power relations among actors and various approaches to community development. Secondly, it examines patterns of community participation in the context of community development, and discusses issues of leadership, the decision-making process as community participation tasks, and governance. Thirdly, partnership working as a key phenomenon in this study is discussed. It outlines principles of effective partnership, exploring the politics of partnerships in society.

The fourth chapter presents the theoretical framework that guided the study analysis and discussion. This framework is offered via the theories of social network and social capital, assuming that when actors and actions in GCP working relationships are based on a genuine networking structure with mutual trust, transparent, reciprocity and equal power, there is a high possibility of building various stocks of social capital where resources can be mobilised for the common good.

The fifth chapter describes the research methodology and design that underpins the study. It outlines the research approach and design adopted for the study; data collection tools used; sampling procedures and participants involved; research location and how access to study areas was gained; how the study was piloted; data management and analysis procedures; how issues of validity and reliability in qualitative multiple-case study research were achieved; and finally, ethical issues to which the study complied are described.

The sixth chapter explores and discusses the context under which community participation is practised for education provision within the GCP. It covers characteristics of community participation; factors that motivate local people to collectively participate in education and community development activities; attitudes towards work and collective working; financing education in GCP working relationships; age group and community participation; and finally the chapter gives a detailed discussion of findings linked with the literature and theoretical framework.

Chapter seven analyses and discusses some political tensions behind decision-making processes for policies and implementation procedures within GCP working relationships. The chapter analyses the extent to which actors involved in GCP are part of the decision-making process regarding their development. In doing so, the chapter compares official documents regarding the theory and practice of the policy decision-making process with the experiences expressed in the voices of those on the ground (community members/participants). Such political tensions were also looked at in relation to power relations between GCP actors and their impact on the quality of education at rural communities. The analysis and discussion of findings were looked at through the lens of networking ties and social capital.

Chapter eight examines the nature of leadership as key actors in GCP working relationships for education and community development at local levels. It analyses how far leaders at local levels are empowered to perform their roles confidently. The chapter therefore examines how leaders acquired their leadership positions, since the manner in which leaders are drawn into a leadership position, either with people's voices and consent or by the choice of top powerful leaders, could influence their commitment and accountability to

community development. In addition, the manner of selection and appointment procedures also explains where networking ties are likely to be based.

Chapter nine explores the challenges under which GCP was practised and suggestions on how to improve GCP working in contemporary society for the development of rural communities. Here, ‘contemporary society’ is used to represent the period from early 1990s when Tanzania (like other poor countries) adopted liberalisation and free market economy including privatisation of the public sectors and a multi-party governing system, as part of ‘Structural Adjustment Programmes’ from international institutions (World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) following the world economic crisis of 1980s. The chapter analyses the tensions (particularly political) that have influenced the practice of GCP in two historical perspectives – during *ujamaa*, a socialist society, and in a contemporary society (post-*ujamaa*). There is a debate on the extent to which adhering to the norms and values of *ujamaa* influenced the discipline and commitment to collective working during *ujamaa* and the extent to which contemporary society is producing corrupt behaviour which has undermined the collective spirit in GCP working. However, the chapter demonstrates the opportunities for an improved GCP, which might facilitate the creation of network ties and build stocks of social capital for rural community development.

Finally, chapter ten provides the conclusions of the study. It brings together various elements developed in the thesis. It summarises the study’s main findings and presents conclusions and implications linking them with the overall research purpose and research questions. The chapter also reflects on the theoretical framework and describes the extent to which the framework has effectively helped to explain GCP working and whether GCP had built social capital. Finally, it outlines the study’s limitations, suggests areas for further research in light of the findings and provides final remarks.

Chapter 2

Background and the Context of the Study

2.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the historical background and context under which this study is based. The purpose is to place the study in its historical and contemporary context including the political and ideological context upon which the development of education and community in Tanzania are shaped. Such development is situated in a long-standing spirit of cooperation and working together for community and national development, herein referred to as government-community partnership (GCP)³ in education provision. The chapter is organised into five sections. The first section (2.2) provides a historical perspective covering the political and ideological context under which policies and reforms for the nation's development were based soon after independence. This is followed by an analysis of community development in the context of *ujamaa* and after (section 2.3). In section 2.4, the development of education is presented highlighting various policies and reforms after independence and to date. Next is adult education, as an important level in both community participation and awareness creation (section 2.5). Finally, the chapter explores the relationships between education, poverty reduction and community participation (section 2.6).

2.2 Political and ideological context: a historical perspective

Tanzania became a sovereign state, freed from British colonial rule, in December 1961. It was called Tanganyika until 1964 when it was renamed 'the United Republic of Tanzania' following the union between Tanganyika-Mainland and Zanzibar-Island. With the attainment of independence, the newly formed government intended to get rid of the colonial legacy, a move that had started

³ Although the term GCP is a modern phenomenon that started to be used widely in the early 1990s, in this study it is used throughout the thesis (even in analysing working together in the *ujamaa* era during 1960s to early 1980s) because it connotes the situation where people work collectively with the government for the development of community (common good).

in the pre-independence years under the political party TANU⁴ that was in 1954 under the leadership of Mwalimu⁵ Julius K. Nyerere, the first president of Tanzania.

The government, under a single-party system (TANU) and the leadership of Nyerere (the period that is referred to as *party supremacy*⁶), in 1967 introduced the 'Arusha Declaration'. The declaration advocated the ideology of socialism and self-reliance upon which the development goals and strategies of the new independent state were based and defined (Kassam, 1983). The main target was to promote 'self-reliance', a collective concept that was seen as the fundamental strategy in the process of building a socialist self-reliant society (Okoko, 1987, p.25). To build such a society while avoiding dependence on unreliable external sources, the government utilised human and local resources (Kaiser, 1996). As such, the need for popular participation from the community for socio-economic development was indispensable. This was clearly stated in TANU guidelines, advocated for a 'people-centred' approach to development:

The commitment to socialist and self-reliant development requires the participation of the people in the planning and decision-making process pertaining to their own development (TANU, 1971, p.9).

Such a statement assumes the development process is to be decided by the people and not the government or party as the practice seems to suggest (chapter 7). However, the main challenge was how to pull people together and collectively work for their development and become 'self-reliant'. Under the Arusha Declaration, a political manifesto and an economic blue print (Mwakikagila, 2006), one of the striking political shifts was the promulgation of the social philosophy of *ujamaa* upon which the socialism framework was based.

⁴ TANU (Tanganyika African National Union), the political party in mainland Tanzania that in 1977 was united with Afro Shiraz Party of Zanzibar to form '*Chama cha Mapinduzi* (CCM)', which means 'Revolutionary Party'. Any decision, political, social or economic, had to be approved by TANU before implementation; and that was the period of '*Party Supremacy*' which reached its peak in 1965.

⁵ *Mwalimu* is a Swahili word for a teacher and remains an affectionate title for Nyerere. The Tanzanian first president (Julius K. Nyerere) was a *Mwalimu* by profession, the title that he held even after he stopped teaching to concentrate on the politics of nation building, until his death in October 1999.

⁶ *Party Supremacy* was declared in 1965 by the first president during the one-party system (the Tanganyika African National Union-TANU). The purpose was to safeguard national independence and unity. The decision-making process was transferred from the cabinet and parliament to the party forums. The party then possessed power and was able to give directions to government about general policies which must be adopted for national development (Miti 1980: 193-4, *The Party and Politics in Tanzania*). In 1977, TANU was transformed to CCM, which also continued to be a one-party state until 1992 when the country adopted multiparty democracy (Nyirabu 2002). However, to date CCM has now been the only ruling political party for about four multiparty elections.

The philosophy of *ujamaa* was adopted by the party leadership in the mid 1960s as a strategy for development and a means of eliminating poverty, disease, ignorance, discrimination and miserable living conditions (Mushi, 2009, p.109).

The philosophy of *ujamaa* in a new socialist state focused on removing the class domination in society created during colonialism. In this attempt, Nyerere's perspective and the language used in the Arusha Declaration can be compared to that of Marxist theory of class and revolution. Sklar (1979, p.531) in his article, '*The Nature of Class Domination in Africa*', writes that in Marxist theory, classes in society are determined by the mode of economic production and that a dominant class is one whose members own and control the means of economic production. In Tanzania, *ujamaa* was a means to build a socialist society with classless features. It arose as a response to colonialism in which dehumanisation, racialism, individualism and dependency divided people into classes and created classes of African elites. Therefore, as a revolutionary step, Nyerere described Tanzania as a nation of 'peasants and workers'⁷. Quoted in Cameron (1980, p.105), the Arusha Declaration states:

Tanzania is a state of peasants and workers, and the way to build and maintain socialism is to ensure that major means of production are under the control and ownership of peasants and workers.

To put these ideals into practice, Nyerere insisted on cooperation and collective working through the principles of equality, rights, equal opportunities for all and respect without exploitation (see Cameron, 1980; Lema *et al.*, 2006). In order for individuals to be part of *ujamaa* or socialism, Cornell (2012) found that unlike capitalism, which was depicted as bad or evil and a threat to development and independence, socialism was held as morally good, typically African and non-exploitative. Equality, unity and brotherhood were virtually embraced.

The goal of a newly independent state was to achieve common goals for common good by removing regional and district disparities built during colonialism and to

⁷ 'Peasant' refers to small agricultural producers who produce primarily for their own consumption and use the labour of their family members. In 1978 in Tanzania, this group was estimated to constitute more than 90% of the population. 'Workers' are those members of society who earn their living from non-agricultural employment, including party leaders, civil servants, and all those who have managerial, entrepreneurial or technical skills in different fields. (Cornell, 2012 – '*A Critical Analysis of Nyerere's Ujamaa: an Investigation of its Foundations and Values*').

promote national unity. In other words, as Sklar (1979, p.547) pointed out, this is a 'class action-based activity' since collective working intends to reduce social inequality and domination, and weaken the means of the privileged domination stratum.

Since common or public good is a non-exclusive term where every individual must have access to public services and facilities, in 1969 the government made social services 'a public good' by nationalising all private, missionary and non-governmental services, including schools, and putting them into the hands of the public where the state assumed the control (Chedié *et al.*, 2000, p.9). This, as Chedié and colleagues noted, was perhaps an attempt to implement the principles of equality and equal sharing of public resources in which the government assumed the monopoly of social services provision, particularly education (Chedié *et al.*, 2000, p.23). Education in this case was guided by the policy of 'Education for Self-Reliance' (ESR) introduced in 1967 (section 2.4).

Another important political-historical shift is the establishment of the 'Decentralisation Reform of 1972' which encouraged a 'bottom-up' participatory approach to community development (Maro, 1990; Semboja and Therkildsen, 1994). The reform intended to give people at local level more power to decide, plan, mobilise local resources and implement developmental projects. This resulted into an increased level of villages' popular participation in local planning for agriculture and the construction of social service facilities including health centres, schools, roads, water and small-scale industries (see Maro, 1990, p.690). Such progress was also based on the *ujamaa* philosophy, that to build a socialist self-reliant society the development process has to begin with the lowest 'rural' level of society (Nyerere, 1967). However, the extent to which power was devolved to the local level is still in question because of the power of the party.

Such development was strengthened by the establishment of the *ujamaa* villages, which increased the spirit of community participation (Maro, 1990). In these villages, people were encouraged to live a communal lifestyle, as Mulenga (2001, p.450) reinforces:

The notion of co-operation springs from the traditional African communalism that engendered mutual respect, responsibility, reciprocity and the obligation to co-operate for the common good of all.

This statement assumes a high level of social interaction as fundamental for effective community development process. To make services closer to the people, the planning unit was reduced from the Ward Development Committee which existed before and during decentralisation to the villages under Village Committees (Semboja and Therkildsen, 1994, p.808). This arrangement, as also pointed out in TANU guidelines and by other writers, sounds as if local people had all the power over their development. However, since the village committees were controlled by the party (Semboja and Therkildsen, 1994), it raises questions about this kind of bottom-up participation and the social and power relationship local people had with their leaders.

Development practices continued to be under party guidelines until 1992 when multi-party system was adopted as one of the conditions in the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) imposed by international institutions, the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, following the world economic crisis of the 1980s (Kaiser, 1996; Moshi, 2010). It is important to note that although the country adopted a multi-party democracy, CCM⁸ (Chama cha Mapinduzi – a TANU sister political party) continued to be the only ruling party to date. Other SAP conditions include liberalisation of the economy and privatisation of the public sector (see also Makongo and Mbilinyi, 2003). The country gradually started to favour a market-oriented approach to social service provision, something the government leadership of Nyerere believed would counteract with the concept of self-reliance and the *ujamaa* orientation of the Arusha Declaration (Kaiser, 1996).

Such changes would not only negatively affect the patterns of life of people living with a collective spirit for the common good, but would also threaten national unity. As Kaiser (1996) noted, market-oriented solutions have undermined the assumed social cohesion of the *ujamaa*, and have increased

⁸ CCM stands for Chama Cha Mapinduzi (the revolutionary party), found in January 1977 after Afro-Shiraz Party (ASP Zanzibar) merged with Tanganyika African National Union (TANU-Tanzania). CCM continued to be the only legal political party up to 1995, the first election involving multi-political parties in which CCM continued to be the ruling political party in Tanzania.

divisions among people caused by religious tensions, lack of rule of law, and political violence in multi-party campaigns. In other words, the political-ideology of a socialist society had changed into a *de facto* capitalist-oriented system, though theoretically in the country's constitution policy-makers still believe in socialism.

Following such changes, the country's socio-economic plan was, and still is, in a dilemma when attempting to reflect both the political-ideology of socialism and self-reliance, and the newly adopted SAP conditions to regulate economy and social services provision. That means policies and reforms formulated under such circumstances had to meet the conditions of the funders or supporters. For example, Makongo and Mbilinyi (2003, p.1) noted the World Bank declared that:

...Poor countries like Tanzania could ill afford to provide scarce resources to 'non-productive investment' such as education, health and water.

National development strategies under this circumstance are guided by Tanzania's Development Vision 2025 established in 1998 (URT, 1999). The Vision's major goal is to transform Tanzania from a least developed country to a middle-income country, free from abject poverty, by 2025. To realise this goal, the Vision insisted that the political stability, national unity, community spirit and social cohesion the country is or has been enjoying should continue to be cultivated and nurtured. Another related strategy is the National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (NSGRP) or MKUKUTA⁹, which is committed to Education for All (EFA) goals and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) – which are the internationally agreed targets for poverty reduction (see URT, 2005a, 2006a). The MKUKUTA is striving to widen spaces for country ownership by encouraging local and external partnerships in social and economic development (URT, 2006a).

Another important milestone is the introduction of the Education and Training Policy (ETP) in 1995 to guide the provision of education and training in the context of a liberal and free-market economy (URT, 1995a). The ETP is the second major policy in the education sector introduced after the ESR policy of

⁹ MKUKUTA is an acronym of the Swahili 'Mkakati wa Kukuza Uchumi na Kupunguza Umaskini Tanzania', which means National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (NSGRP).

1967 (section 2.4). For effective implementation of ETP, the government introduced the Education Sector Development Plan (ESDP) (URT, 2001a) in which the Local Government Reform Programme (LGRP) was set to provide the institutional framework (Woods, 2008). In addition, the government also introduced a participatory approach known as ‘Opportunities and Obstacles of Development’ (O&OD) that claims to give local authorities and communities power and authority to identify problems, prioritise them, decide, plan and execute solutions (URT, 2009b). The next section is about community development as shaped by the historical political-ideology of the country and *ujamaa* philosophy.

2.3 Community development in ujamaa context

The primary aim of community development during *ujamaa* in the 1960s was to enable *ujamaa* villages, through their own efforts and in cooperation with one another, to bring about improvements in all aspects of rural life and raise the standard of living (Collins, 1972, p.176). The ideal policy of *ujamaa* villages was meant to bring peasants ‘voluntarily’ together for co-operative production in which they were expected to initiate, control and run their villages through communal farming (Raikes, 1975). In other words, the villages were supposed to govern themselves and control their own activities (Collins, 1972). Governmental technical assistance and incentives assisted self-help activities in *ujamaa* villages, which is the essence of community development.

Ujamaa policy was originally launched in 1967 along with the *ujamaa* villages, a step towards building a socialist society. *Ujamaa* is a kind of extended family unit which assumed common ownership of production and equal distribution of goods among people of common descent (see Hyden, 2008, p.54). As a kind of mass-movement, Hyden notes the words of Nyerere insist on voluntary movement by persuasion rather than force, believing that people can only develop themselves. This implies that people are the basic resources in bringing about development. As Nyerere says: ‘true development is the development of the people and is brought by the people themselves’ (URT, 1996, p.1). Again, the people’s development plans seem to be based on the official framework and policies of the government and the ruling party.

Ujamaa was practised under four basic principles: people should live together; own the means of production jointly; work together; and share the fruits of their labour equally. It is important to note that *ujamaa* principles were incorporated into government policies and the political party – TANU. Through an established *Ujamaa Development Division* within the party's headquarters, the government and TANU became responsible for mobilising people for *ujamaa* activities (Hyden, 2008). The success in terms of collecting people together increased seven times between 1969-1973; i.e., about two million people were living in *ujamaa* villages (see Stren, 1981; Hyden, 2008). Based on people's efforts, the government (through TANU) promoted and supported *ujamaa* programmes including communal farming, building health centres, schools, water and all other social services.

This political and ideological context shaped the model of community development in Tanzania. In the Community Development Policy of 1996, community development is viewed as:

A process which enables people to recognise their own ability to identify their problems and use the available resources to earn and increase their income, and build a better life for themselves (URT, 1996, p. 3)

However, since the government and the party controlled the process, community development seemed to be implemented within the policy objectives of the government, rather than the people, as suggested in the theory. This also implies a problem of power relations and whether the power structure was fair enough to empower villagers to decide and control their own development, or whether community development was driven by the 'forceful persuasion' of official agencies rather than by the 'voluntary persuasion' of the grassroots actors in the villages themselves, as Raikes (1975) notes. For details about power relations and empowerment, see section 3.2.3 chapter 3.

Despite the remarkable achievements in establishing the villages, *ujamaa* could not be sustained. The government might have been too ambitious in trying to build a socialist self-reliant society in a short period without proper preparation. Some of the weaknesses include mismanagement due to the domination of party and government authorities which did not adhere to the socialist principles of

cooperation (see Hyden, 2008). It seems *ujamaa* and *ujamaa* villages lacked a clear implementation framework as even the government officials who were expected to advise and offer technical support could not understand the policy (Collins, 1972). The same applies to the villagers who were supposed to voluntarily initiate, control and run their villages: they lacked managerial skills. Without receiving any training concerning policy, teachers were expected to change people's mindset to accept changes (Lema *et al.*, 2006). This again implies a lack of empowerment and capacity building, which are important components for effective community development. More important in this process is leadership and whether leaders were genuinely cooperating to achieve a common goal. In addition, these challenges might have been a result of systemic problems or governance, which will be discussed in section 3.3.5 chapter 3.

Despite the drawbacks noted during the *ujamaa* villages movement, such a social working environment was a basic reference for people's unity and development. Similarly, Cornell's (2012) account on '*A Critical Analysis of Nyerere's Ujamaa*', states that unlike animals, human beings must live in cooperation and union, and that in *ujamaa* a socialist is a person who considers all others a brother/sister (a brotherhood or communal life). Based on the principles of *ujamaa*, it assumed the availability of social interactions that connected people to form networks that tied them together in nuclear villages and built social capital for socio-economic development. Therefore, the current movement of partnership working (GCP) for community development has a basis in socialism and in the self-reliance movement. In the next section, educational development, as shaped by the historical political-ideology of the country, is presented.

2.4 Development of education in Tanzania

Tanzania's education system comprises of both formal and non-formal education. It is organised into three levels: basic (pre-primary, primary and adult education and non-formal education); secondary (ordinary and advanced levels); and tertiary levels (non-higher and higher education)¹⁰. This study focuses on formal education, particularly primary and secondary levels.

¹⁰ See the Tanzania national website on <http://www.tanzania.go.tz/education.html>

However, the study considers the significant role adult education plays in strengthening community participation and collective working (section 2.5).

The choice of primary and secondary education levels is based on the fact that they are critical levels for poverty reduction since many people can access and receive education (Mtey and Sulle, 2013). Primary education, for example, is a foundation stage to higher levels of education (URT, 1995a). Secondary education (which enrolls primary education graduates), is a basic stage for human resource preparation on which level the government had placed emphasis for the nation's development (Oketch and Rolleston, 2007). The World Education Forum (WEF) stated clearly that 'no country can be expected to develop into a modern and open economy without a certain proportion of its work force having completed secondary education' (WEF, 2000, p.16). In addition, the establishment of these education levels, financial administration and other related functions are a collaborative task of various education stakeholders including government and communities (URT, 1995a). This is perhaps based on what is recognised worldwide, that 'education' is a basic right of every individual in society, as stipulated in Article 26 of the United Nations Charter – the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* of 1948¹¹.

Soon after independence, in many areas of the country the popular pressure was the need for more schools, particularly primary schools (Morrison, 1976). As such, in 1962, an Education Act was passed to regulate education provision and remove all forms of discrimination implanted throughout the colonial period (see URT, 1995; Chediel *et al.*, 2000). Mwalimu Nyerere criticised the colonial education system saying that it was not designed to prepare young people for nation building. Instead it encouraged individualistic instincts, which run contrary to the cooperative instincts needed for a socialist society (Nyerere, 1979). The individualistic instincts, Nyerere thought, would lead to selfish and individual possession of material wealth.

In 1967, the first major education policy, Education for Self-Reliance (ESR), was issued as an implementation strategy of the Arusha Declaration. The aim of ESR was to foster commitment to cooperative ethics and the creation of equality, a

¹¹ See <http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/index.shtml>

way of counteracting the individualistic values inculcated through the colonial education system (Lema *et al.*, 2006). Nyerere (1967) had been clear that education must instil in individuals a sense of commitment to the whole community by inculcating the social goals of living and working together for the common good.

The implementation of ESR policy called for a high contribution from the community. As such, education, people's lives and the community were integrated where primary and secondary schools became part and parcel of community life (Galabawa, 1990; Mushi, 2009). Nyerere quoted in Mushi (2009, p.113) said that 'schools must become communities and communities that practise the philosophy of self-reliance'. Schools in this circumstance were viewed as economic, social and educational communities that would prepare young people to work in, and for, rural community development (Cameron, 1980; Mushi, 2009). In order to spread further the words of socialism and self-reliance, all primary schools were made 'adult education centres' as part of a literacy campaign, where adults received literacy skills and knowledge to help them fight against ignorance, poverty, disease and miserable living conditions.

Moreover, in one of the education seminars with teachers, Nyerere recapitulated the importance of teachers for both *ujamaa* and ESR policy. He was quoted as insisting that 'the country cannot build *ujamaa* unless teachers agree to build *ujamaa* and unless its education builds the basic attitudes of socialism and self-reliance' (Cooksey, 1986, p.191). As such, the need to change the school curriculum and syllabus to make them agriculture-based and oriented to rural village work to meet ESR and local needs, was paramount (Maliyamkono, 1980). Therefore, textbooks were revised to include aspects of work. There was also political education to create awareness among pupils about the political, economic and social conditions of the nation (see Cameron, 1980; Maliyamkono, 1980). That meant political education became a subject and an integral component of training in both primary and secondary education. In addition, to inculcate and maintain this spirit, in all political speeches, leaders used a slogan '*uhuru na kazi*' or 'freedom and work' (Oming'o, 1970).

Lema *et al.* (2006) noted that there were tensions involved in changing people's mindset, the task that teachers were expected to engage in without receiving

any training for such changes. The government seems to have been too ambitious in trying to build a socialist self-reliant society in a short period of time without the appropriate framework for the practical implementation of programmes. As such, ESR could not transform schools into economic institutions as expected and failed to make students and society appreciate agricultural production (see Lema *et al.*, 2006).

In addition, the ESR policy document lacked official endorsement from the party until 1974 when the National Executive Committee of TANU in Musoma region assessed the achievement and failure of ESR. The committee came up with directives and strategies to better implement ESR, popularly known as the '*Musoma Resolution of 1974*', which called for a national campaign for Universal Primary Education (UPE) (see Kassam, 1978; Lema *et al.*, 2006; Sifuna, 2007). Some of the directives included the expansion of primary and secondary education, integration of work and education, abolition of university direct entry and the introduction of continuous education.

The primary education was therefore expanded and school fees were abolished to allow all school-age children access to school. The committee agreed to achieve UPE by 1977 (just three years from 1974). *Musoma Resolution* aimed at making primary education 'compulsory', 'universal' and 'terminal' or complete in itself (Kassam, 1978). This aim was legalised in the Education Act No.25 of 1978, with emphasis on compulsory enrolment and attendance and where legal action would be taken against parents who disobeyed the Act. By 1984, more than 90% of school-aged children were enrolled in schools (see Mbilinyi, 2003, p.2).

Increasing enrolment meant an increasing number of schools and classrooms, teachers and teaching-learning supplies. However, with the idea of achieving UPE in three years, the committee suggested the use of a double shift in schools to accommodate all enrolled children. As for teachers, the committee urged the use of students in the higher classes: secondary pupils to teach primary school pupils (Lema *et al.*, 2006) without the basic skills of teaching methodology. This compromised the quality of education (Sifuna, 2007). For example, Wedgwood (2007, p.86) found that less than half of teachers in these schools had the

Ministry's minimum qualifications required. Also Sifuna (2007, p.694) observed that about 60% of the rural schools had around 180 pupils per class.

Secondary education was also expanded to accommodate primary school graduates. This level was also made complete in itself in that students were not supposed to be prepared for university entry, but rather should be prepared for work upon graduation (Maliyamkono, 1980). Similarly to primary schools, students from higher forms were authorised to teach lower forms (Lema *et al.*, 2006). Again, this led to the decline in quality of education since there was no appropriate preparations for quality education delivery.

Following the economic crisis and the automatic changes from a socialist political-ideology in which the government was responsible for social services provision to a free-market economy, the second major education policy – Education and Training Policy (ETP) of 1995, was introduced (URT, 1995a). This policy intended to accommodate the newly adopted SAPs conditions, which necessitated the introduction of cost-sharing, privatisation and liberalisation of education provision. The implementation of ETP presupposes the application of partnership working in which the policy invited various groups including private agencies, individuals, organisations and communities to establish, manage and administer schools at primary and secondary levels (URT, 1995a, p.xii). For effective implementation of the policy, ETP in clause 4.3.1 states:

Ministries responsible for education and training shall devolve their responsibilities of managing and administration of education and training to lower organs and communities (URT, 1995a, p.26).

The purpose was to broaden the base for the provision of education and training through cost-sharing measures. However, establishing schools under the political-liberal ideology of the free-market economy has implications for the poor households who cannot afford to pay high tuition fees in privately owned schools. This is the essence, as noted above, of why Mwalimu Nyerere was against a market-oriented approach to social service provision. In fact, after SAPs and the introduction of cost-sharing, the enrolment rates (in primary schools) dropped to 78% in 1988 (Mbilinyi, 2003, p.4).

The government, in collaboration with communities, maintains the public schools which enrol the majority of children from poor households. In order for the government and communities to work together, in 1997 the government, through LGRP, initiated the Education Sector Development Programme (ESDP) to implement the ETP. The ESDP is a sector-wide approach to educational development, which adopted a collaborative strategy with key stakeholders using pooled human, financial, and material resources in the provision of education (URT, 2001a). As stated in the ESDP document, the practice followed a bottom-up hierarchical planning process, from the school as the lowest level and the initial planning unit, to the national level, but in line with national guidelines aimed at matching grassroots development with national interests (URT, 2001a, p.10-11).

That means the government attempted to re-event the collective spirit in education development projects to ensure that all children have equal access to education regardless of poverty, gender, or area of origin (see URT, 2001a). Educational projects implemented within ESDP framework are PEDP and SEDP (URT, 2001a, 2004). Both PEDP and SEDP involve community members in the construction and rehabilitation of schools, classrooms and provision of other school supplies such as desks. The success of these plans can easily be observed in quantitative aspects, i.e. the number of schools increased from 12,815 in 2003 to 15,727 in 2009 (primary – PEDP) and from 1,083 in 2003 to 4,102 in 2009 (secondary – SEDP) (URT, 2007b, 2009a). By 2008, the enrolment ratio in primary schools was above 90% in all regions (see URT, 2011b, p.47). However, with this rapid increase of enrolment the quality of education was threatened, as teacher-pupil ratio rose to 1:54 (See also SACMEQ (2011, p.3). Also the URT (2011b) acknowledged the severe shortage of human resources (including teachers), especially in rural districts. Both PEDP and SEDP are in their second phase of implementation with the target of improving the quality of education (URT, 2006b, 2010b).

The present practice of PEDP and SEDP seems to repeat mistakes of former reforms, the ESR of 1967 and *Musoma Resolusion* of 1974 (UPE), in teacher preparation and other school supplies. For example, to implement SEDP, there was a ‘crash programme’ which trained sixth form leavers as teachers for the mushrooming number of *Ward* secondary schools all over the country (URT,

1995a). They were licensed and allowed to teach after one year of training (Wedgwood, 2007). It is almost like authorising students to teach fellow students. Such a situation raises many questions including whether the internationally agreed MDGs will be met by 2015, and whether education will be able to improve socio-economic and cultural development of the poor majority in rural Tanzania. The 2010 MDG report observed the current pace of progress as insufficient (United Nations, 2011). If the practice continues this way, it is uncertain whether Tanzania will be transformed to a middle-income country by 2025, as the Tanzania Development Vision 2025 proposed (URT, 1999).

2.5 Adult education

During and after the struggle for political independence in Tanzania (which Mwalimu Nyerere pioneered), adult education was part of the national unity and development process. It was embedded in government and party plans. The TANU doctrine presupposes that all members of the party had to promise their government that they would educate themselves to the best of their ability and for the benefit of all in society (Nyerere, 1973). Nyerere believed in educating adults first because adults' attitudes have an immediate impact on socio-economic development compared to children. 'He said adults should be able to participate in changes which are necessary' (Nyerere, 1973, p.137). In addition, there was a need to make people conscious of the objectives of *ujamaa* and self-reliance as well as their obligations (Mushi, 2009, p.115).

Nyerere's focus on creating an educated society through adult education for socio-economic change is similar to the concept of education and social action put forward by Dewey (1938 [1963]) and Freire's notion of 'conscientisation' (1993). For example, Freire believes the thrust of change comes from the grassroots and therefore education through critical dialogue and conscientisation liberates people to become the agent of change. Similarly, Nyerere (1967) argues for education to liberate people from restraints and limitation where the adult educator's role was to raise people's consciousness.

However, while Freire suggests learning themes are generated by people motivated to change, it was the government and political party under the Nyerere leadership that instigated the practice of education and adult education

in particular. That means even the plans of development that people must understand in order to be able to participate in building the nation, and which Nyerere prioritised for adult education, were not the people's choice, something which Meredith (2006, p. 250) refers to as an 'intellectual coup'. As also discussed in chapter 9, Nyerere is criticised for taking the matter of nation building into his own hands, acting too quickly and without taking into consideration the views of his government officials or the voice of the local people (see Meredith, 2006; Mwakikagila, 2006).

Despite the critiques of Nyerere's leadership, when it comes to education for the people and adults in particular, he never stops learning, believing that there is no 'useless knowledge', and thus encouraged people to learn more. For him, adult education was something that 'never stops'. This highlights the notion of 'lifelong learning'. Following the declaration of the Adult Education Year in 1970, phrases such as '*Uhuru na Elimu ya Watu Wazima*' (Freedom and Adult Education) or '*Elimu Haina Mwisho*' (Education has no end) were among the slogans used to mobilise people to participate in adult education programmes (Kassam, 1983). Various programmes and directives were conceived to promote adult education and at the same time allow workers to continue learning: e.g., the Presidential Circular No.1 of 1970, and the Prime Minister's Directive on Workers' Education of 1973 (Kassam, 1978). These were a particular form of 'lifelong learning'.

During Nyerere's time, adult education ran smoothly because of political will. It was a common feature of party politics, as experiences from this study shows (chapter 7) and as indicated in some of the literature, that government and party plans are inseparable (see Miti, 1980; Peter, 2000; Makulilo and Raphael, 2010). Adult education, in Nyerere's time and *ujamaa* during the single-party rule, was made a key agenda item in political process all over the country, through national literacy campaigns, posters and mass media.

The main purpose of adult education in a newly independent country (Tanzania) was, according to Nyerere, quoted in Mulenga (2001, p.446), 'to inspire in people a desire for change, and an understanding that change is possible through their own actions, individually or cooperatively'. For Nyerere, the education of an individual was seen as both a means of bringing liberation and equality in

society, and as a collective concept that advances the collective good of society. In the process of building a socialist self-reliant society, adult education was seen as a key instrument for promoting socio-economic and political changes in society by helping people to understand the national policies of socialism and self-reliance, and ensure that all people play their part and benefit from the success (Nyerere, 1973; Mushi, 2009). All primary schools were made 'adult education centres/classes' where adults received literacy skills and knowledge to help them cope with the political and socio-economic changes in the country.

The most important function of adult education, as Nyerere (1978, p.29) argues, is it awakens awareness and consciousness among the people about the need for, and possibility of, change which liberates them from the restraints and limitations of ignorance and dependency. Adult education has continued to play a critical role in empowering people, because the learning process in adult education enhances productivity and socio-economic development (URT, 1995a) (chapter 3 discusses empowerment in detail). In the contemporary world, UNESCO (2009, p.8) stated clearly that achieving all the MDGs has to go hand-in-hand with good quality relevant adult education programmes. According to UNESCO (2009), learning empowers adults with knowledge and the skills to improve their lives. As such, adult education can play a significant role in poverty reduction, improving health and promoting sustainable community development and environmental practices. In the *Sixth International Conference on Adult Education* (the CONFINTEA VI), the imperative need of integrating adult education into MDGs and EFA targets was raised. That is the need for concrete action plans for adult learning and education with improved policies and responsive governments which are effective, transparent and accountable (UNESCO, 2010b).

2.6 Poverty reduction, education and community participation

The relationship between educational attainment and poverty reduction among individuals in developing countries (such as Tanzania) can never be overemphasised. Education has always been considered a primary springboard for achieving a better life free from ignorance, diseases and poverty (Nyerere, 1967). It plays a major role in strengthening human capabilities and reducing

poverty. Thus, investing in human capital and the provision of education have been recognised as central to the attainment of quality of life (Malale, 2002), especially for the future adulthood of young people. Basic education here becomes fundamental to realising economic, social and cultural rights, a catalyst for social change (United Nations, 2011, p.3). Moreover, as UNESCO (2011b) pointed out, the necessity of a higher level of education means higher earnings, better health, and a longer life. That means the basic education as a foundation stage, has to be of good enough quality to enable the child to climb the learning ladder.

The role of higher education in poverty reduction and sustainable development in society is vital. Teferra (2013, p.3) explains clearly the importance of investing in higher education in the twenty-first century knowledge-based economy, that it is central to national building and economic development, as it builds an inclusive and diverse knowledge society with skills in research, innovation and creativity. However, the extent to which the system allows young people (particularly the rural poor) to climb such ladders until higher education the level that is believed to open doors to employment and self-employment opportunities, is uncertain.

It seems the majority of government educational expenditure goes to children of the urban middle class. Although the expansion of educational opportunity goes hand-in-hand with the expansion of primary education sector, as Wedgwood (2007, p.387) noted, in Tanzania, the quality of education was compromised due to the expansion of the primary sector. As such, only a richer minority, mostly in urban areas, are able to access post-primary education. Mbilinyi (2003) has found that the pass rates from primary to secondary education is still below the Poverty Reduction Strategy target of 50%. Obviously, that means the majority of children and young people could only access schooling of very little value, from government schools, particularly the community schools. As Rose (2003b) observes, despite the remarkable role played by community participation in schooling in sub-Saharan Africa education systems, the pass rate of community schools is lower than other government and private schools (see also Mulengeki, 2004).

When it comes to competition in a labour market with limited employment schemes, the level and type of education an individual acquires is significant. Omari (1999) asserts that the quality of schooling provided has a significant impact on the country's economic prospects. The World Bank (1996) also emphasises the significant effect of additional schooling on people's future lives. So far, the quality life of a nation can be achieved if the majority of citizens (the marginalised rural poor) have access and opportunity to relevant and good quality education. Mtey and Sulle (2013, p.12) have pointed out that significant poverty reduction can only be realised if education can benefit rural people. They stated clearly, with a particular reference to primary and secondary education as critical foundational stages, that no country has successfully eradicated poverty without educating its people. The community-built public schools, which in Tanzania are called Ward (*Kata*) secondary schools built through SEDP (URT, 1995a, 2004), are indicative of a high social demand for secondary education (Wedgwood, 2007).

Relevant reports have revealed the increase in education expenditure in sub-Saharan Africa. Between 2000-2008 primary schooling increased by 48% and pre-primary, secondary and tertiary education grew by more than 60% (UNESCO, 2011a; World Bank, 2011). This is an increase of 6% annually (UNESCO, 2011a, p.3). In Tanzania, notwithstanding the increase of education budget from 18% in 2007/08 to 22% in 2009/10 fiscal year, which means the sector continues to get a big share of the budget due to its vital role in the economy (URT, 2009d), financing education has never been adequate without community participation. The recent *Five Year Development Plan – 2011/12-2015/16* (URT, 2011a) has reported the growing gap between expenditure and available financial resources. The government budget has been relying heavily on foreign financing inflows, which are normally unreliable and unpredictable (URT, 2011a, p.82). Among the implementation strategies proposed by the plan, is the people's participation. The plan states clearly that every Tanzanian has the duty and responsibility to play an active part in the development process, thereby building the culture and attitude of '*we can do*' (URT, 2011a, p.102).

It is interesting to note that in registering this progress most of the sub-Saharan African governments involve communities in establishing, administering and maintaining, as well as financing these schools. Yet, despite this progress, the

majority of children and youths still walk long distances to poorly managed schools (Matekere, 2003) with a few untrained, unqualified and unmotivated teachers (Ekaju, 2011). As such, most African countries, as Lawal (2007) notes, are battling with illiteracy, inequality and a lack of educational quality, which exacerbates the low standard of education and increases the poverty level in society. This is perhaps due to the fact that education is seen in terms of a school building without improving teaching and learning processes as well as teachers' capacity.

The expansion of education systems in poor African countries has always been leading to some complex challenges in schooling including classroom overcrowding, shortages of teachers and sub-standard teacher-student-book ratios, which all lead to low quality education. As also noted earlier, studies show that such challenges are obvious in public and community schools in particular (Lyimo, 2001; Matekere, 2003; Sumra, 2003; Lugayila, 2002; Mulengeki, 2004; Hape, 2005; Ekaju, 2011). For example, Lyimo (2001) found out that in Tanzania there is a bureaucracy that limits teachers' autonomy among the public and community schools. Also Ekaju (2011) discovered that the policy of UPE in Ugandan public schools did not improve the lives of the rural poor. These studies justify Psacharopoulos's (1989) statement that most of the adopted education policies and reforms in developing countries have not yet succeeded or have nearly failed. The emphasis has been based on quantity in terms of number of schools and enrolment, rather than on quality of education (Omari *et al.*, 1983; Mulengeki, 2004; Sifuna, 2007; Wedgwood, 2007). The low quality of education has negative implications in poverty reduction.

As such, extreme poverty has remained the major impediment to jobless young people who lack the quality education necessary for the transition into tertiary and higher education which could facilitate competition in the labour market. In Tanzania and elsewhere in sub-Saharan Africa, such a situation is likely to demoralise the rural communities from committing their labour and scarce resources to improving education provision because the return seems to be a disappointment. Such experience, therefore, raises questions about the reality of the GCP working relationship in education provision for rural poverty reduction. The next chapter provides a review of related literature that discusses the complexity and tensions, particularly political tensions, of the

three main aspects in collective or GCP working for community and education development (community development; community participation; and partnership working).

Chapter 3

Review of Literature

3.1 Introduction

Despite partnership working being viewed as engaging in a complex relationship due to the diversity of actors involved who may differ in purpose and power relations (McQuaid, 2000), it has remained a persistent theme (Bray, 2000b) and a major contribution to solutions for social, political, cultural and economic problems in society (see Bray, 2000b, 2004; Dhillon, 2005; United States Agency for International Development (USAID), 2007; Zacchaeus, 2007). In developing countries such as Tanzania, where about 74% of the population live in rural areas with the vast majority of households at subsistence level from agricultural activities and which contribute only 0.1% to the country's GDP (URT, 2009c, p.94), poverty becomes a 'rural phenomenon' (Woods, 2008). This is the situation where partnership working becomes an imperative strategy for social services provision (particularly education) for the poor majority in rural areas.

By investing in education, the possibility of reducing poverty among the poor majority is high because of the recognition (worldwide) that education assures individuals a better future life, especially when they succeed in higher learning (see Nyerere, 1967; World Bank, 1996; Malale, 2002; UNESCO, 2011b; Mtey and Sulle, 2013). This recognition is evident in the rise of education expenditure among the sub-Saharan African nations (UNESCO, 2011a, p.3), and Tanzania in particular, as indicated above in section 2.6 (URT, 2009d, p.47). The resources invested in education in this region have shown a remarkable progress in terms of enrolment in all levels of schooling (UNESCO, 2011a; World Bank, 2011). In Tanzania, the URT (2012, p.24) has acknowledged the significant improvement in enrolment rates for primary (94%) and secondary (95%) schools in 2011. It is interesting to note that, in registering this progress, most of the sub-Saharan African governments collaborate with communities in establishing, administering, maintaining and financing these schools (particularly primary and secondary levels). For this study, this collaboration is termed as government-community partnership (GCP) in education provision.

However, despite this progress, which in Tanzania went hand-in-hand with various efforts through established educational programmes and reforms (in particular the Education Sector Development Plan, a sector-wide approach through a collaborative strategy in pooling resources (URT, 2001a)), poverty levels are still high, particularly in rural areas. The majority of young people and youths have not been able to progress to higher education and to compete in the labour market. This suggests that efforts to reduce poverty through education have not yet produced significant results. This observation has some implications for this thesis, which seeks to explore the nature of GCP working in education provision for rural communities in Tanzania.

The purpose of this chapter is to position the study within the related literature based on the historical and political complexities of the three main concepts (community development; community participation; and partnership working) in order to explore GCP in education provision. The chapter is divided into three main sections. Firstly, the concept of community development and its practice in the context of GCP is discussed (section 3.2). Important issues covered in this section include the ideas of community and community development as concepts; empowerment and power relations; and selected approaches to effective community development. Secondly, the chapter reviews community participation in the context of community development and GCP working (section 3.3). In this section, patterns of participation and motives for community participation are examined. Other actions that are community participation tasks and have impact in GCP working, include leadership, policy-making and governance. Thirdly, in section 3.4, the chapter discusses partnership working as a key phenomenon in study. It explores the politics of partnerships in society and provides principles for effective partnership working.

3.2 Community development

3.2.1 The idea of community

Community is a complicated concept which is both criticised for being elusive (Etzioni, 1995) and used ambiguously with contradicting interests to justify different politics, policies and practices (Mayo, 1994). The problematic nature of this term is because it is historically situated within theoretically contested

ideas which change with time, ideology, politics and economics (Shaw, 2008). Crow and Allan (1994, p.133) have pointed out that the forces behind the creation of community life are both complex and beyond easy manipulation.

The term community, as Mayo (1994, p.49) noted has been in English language since 14th century used to refer to the common people who were held together by their poverty and their culture. In the 16th century, the concept expanded from common people to include the quality of having something in common and the sense of common identity with shared characteristics. From 19th century, the term community has become more complex, distinguishing communities in terms of localities, particularly in large and complex industrial societies.

Community in that context is referred to the people who live in a common geographical area, and share common but diverse interests such as ethnic origin, religion, politics and occupation (Mayo, 1994, p.51). This meaning includes three aspects of community: place or locality; interest; and function (see Tett, 2010). 'Community of locality', as Tett described is the most frequently used meaning, which refers to people who have things in common and live in a particular geographical community such as a neighbourhood or village.

In the African context living a communal life, as Marah (2006) argues, is as old as the formation of societies where people used to work together in groups in activities such as hunting, farming, harvesting, building and thatching houses as well as solving natural calamities. For example, Majamba (2001) found that in the pre-colonial era in Tanzania, hunting worked within the framework of a communal-based activity. The idea of community in terms of 'locality' in this region can also be traced back to the post-colonial era in the 1960s in the struggle for the people's socio-economic well being. A good example is the *ujamaa* philosophy of Nyerere and *ujamaa* villages in Tanzania (as discussed in chapter 2) where people lived in identified villages, worked together and shared the fruits of their labour in a communal manner (Hyden, 2008). The act of communal life in *ujamaa* villages was aimed at organising people to collectively work together and provide social services provision for the poor majority at the lower rural levels (Nyerere, 1967).

However, sociologists such as Ohmae (1991), Castells (2010) and others have argued that 'locality' or 'spatiality' is not really a feature of contemporary communities because there can be communities based on networks and shared interests, feelings and identity without a spatial element, such as in a virtual community where contact is through the internet and related networks. Yet, looking at the nature of rural communities, also known as 'traditional communities' (Delanty, 2003), the locality remains an important feature where social relationships, networks, cohesion, a social web or bond are built for people in a community to live and work together. Beard and Dasgupta (2006) observed (in a comparative study in Indonesia) that rural communities are more cohesive with a stronger collective identity than urban ones. Although we cannot ignore the effects of micro communities due to politics, wealth, education differences and extended families within rural communities, the inbuilt cohesive nature of these communities has become an important base of collective mobilisation and facilitates organisation for community participation in collective action (see Delanty, 2003, p.42).

Relevant literature suggests that 'social contact and relationships' among individuals are significant aspects for community survival (James, 2003; Davies, 2003; Phillips and Pittman, 2009). The social contact and relationships that exist in a certain locality define the identity and the sense of belonging among people in community (James, 2003). That means there is commonality, interdependence and collective capacity, which Derienzo (2007) calls the 'social-web'. Individuals in such a community are entitled to share resources, cultural interests, values, qualities of social cohesion and identification. The shared geographical location involves people in *learning to live* in terms of an interconnected 'we' rather than an isolated 'I'. 'Learning to live', according to UNESCO (1998) is evident when the shared values of mutual respect, solidarity and understanding are internalised and practised through a dynamic, holistic and lifelong process.

Community therefore, is about localities, networks and identities. This means that whatever kind of networks or social relationships exist among people with certain identities, for effective collective community development, the defined locality (with a specified local social system) is imperative (Davies, 2003, p.3). The study of *Welsh Rural Villages* (James, 2003, p.53) revealed that the concept of 'community' has been perceived as a social system with a set of relationships

taking place in a specific locality. Thus, people and the ties that bind them in a certain geographical location are crucial to their survival.

However, sometimes even in tightly defined geographic areas, some people or groups may not consider residence in a particular location as making them part of community. As Bray (2003) has pointed out, communities are rarely homogenous because of sub-groups which do not always operate in harmony. That is why Crow and Allan (1994, p.8) said that communities are not fixed. The increase of social mobility in modern communities determines the extent of connectedness among people, because of differences in culture, values and leadership. Shaeffer (1994, p.43), reinforcing this argument, further states that some communities are united while others are conflictive; some are governed and managed by leaders chosen democratically acting relatively autonomously from other levels of government; yet, some communities are governed and administered by leaders imposed from above representing central authorities.

The heterogenic nature of community represents features of most modern or urban communities. The rise of living standards, the economic change in the labour market, freedom and advancement of information communication and technology, growth of manufacturing activities and high population resulting from immigration, all threaten the bonds that existed in rural or tradition communities (see Crow and Allan, 1994; Delanty, 2003; Beard and Dasgupta, 2006). That means communities of today are less bound, which is the essence of the reference of Delanty (2003, p.187) to the 'loss of community' with modernisation:

Contemporary community may be understood as communication community based on new kinds of belonging, which is peculiar to the circumstances of modern life expressed in unstable, fluid, open and highly individualised groups.

Individuals in today's communities are more actively seeking to achieve belonging than the preservation of boundaries. These communities, according to Mayo (1994, p.53), are open to external social networks which in some circumstances free the concept of community from its local roots. In other words, communities of today are characterised by a dense network of multi-stranded relationships, the dynamics of which can obstruct or facilitate

development (Das Gupta *et al.*, 2003) because they are subject to political manipulation (Delanty, 2003) in search of power, resources and public participation for the social, political and economic development of a nation.

3.2.2 Community development

Community development is a historically constructed concept with a multi-dimensional application, as it concerns the physical, social, cultural, economic, political and environmental aspects of community. It has been in practice since the formation of societies where people lived a communal life (Marah, 2006). In contemporary post-industrial societies, community development can be traced back to the 1960s American war on poverty (Phillips and Pittman, 2009, p.3). The movement focused on solving social problems among people through neighbourhood housing development projects and citizen participation. In such circumstances, Bhattacharyya (2004) sees community development as a positive response to the historic process of decline of solidarity and civic participation. In that response, community development was used to build social capital among people to overcome perceived 'common' social problems.

Community development is also embedded in the history of British imperialism and colonialism. It was also used as a method to meet social and economic development for the new political and social expectations of the working class after the Second World War (Tett, 2010). It was assumed that involving local people would encourage self-reliance, self-regulation and self-surveillance. Thus indeed, as Tett noted, it promoted popular education and solidarity. In developing countries, Africa in particular, community development can be traced back to the post-Second World War reconstruction with the efforts to improve the social and economic wellbeing of people (Phillips and Pittman, 2009, p.3). It was used both as a tool to reduce poverty, disease and ignorance, and to quell anti-colonial struggles. In Kenya for example, the colonial administration used community development to control and channel the forces of anti-colonialism which dominated the political scene (Wallis, 1976, p.192). By the late 1950s, Africans were recruited as community development officers where the majority had worked as assistants.

Community development in this region, as Kishindo (2001) pointed out, is a rural phenomenon with emphasis on the creation of social infrastructure including schools, health centres, roads, and bridges. Also Nikkhah and Redzuan (2009) maintain that community development is concerned with the creation of improved socio-economic conditions through emphasis on voluntary cooperation and self-help efforts. In Malawi for example, in the late 19th century, self-help schemes were used to supplement the insufficient resources available for education for rural areas in particular (Rose, 2003a). Similarly, Eshiwani (1993) found that almost all primary schools built and equipped after independence in Kenya had initially been the result of self-help effort or *harambee*¹².

Like other African countries, the concept of community development in Tanzania is embedded in the political and ideological context as part of the country's movement towards building a socialist self-reliant state (see section 2.3). In this context, the spirit of self-help became part of the drive for community development, the practice upon which social services projects were based. Therefore, working and living together in the established *ujamaa* (collectively-run) villages was encouraged in order to simplify the provision of and access to social services. As Collins (1972) noted, the principles of rural development laid down in the Arusha Declaration included values of self-help and self-reliance which were expected to promote the aims of community development. In this case, the community development followed a government-led self-help model, rather than the more independent grassroots (bottom-up) model.

Self-help schemes in the African context became the reference point in the construction of primary and secondary schools towards and after independence as part of community development. However, self-help activities take the shape of community development when they are included in the government's community development framework. Gilchrist (2009, p.23) writing on *Well-Connected Community*, asserts that community development is about interacting with people to assist them to make changes in their own lives. Gilchrist describes community development as participatory interventions that promote self-help and service delivery when the state is unable to satisfy community aspirations. Community development in this context can take the shape of a

¹² '*Harambee*' is a Swahili word used by Kenyans, meaning 'all pull together'. It encourages people to unite with a national spirit of collective action in building the newly independent nation

bottom-up process that works alongside the government either with or without it. This is where community development is described as a process by which the efforts of the people themselves are combined with those of government institutions to improve the socio-economic conditions of the community (Kishindo, 2001, p.303).

Community development according to Phillips and Pittman (2009, p.6) is both a 'process' and an 'outcome'. As a process, it focuses on developing and enhancing people's ability to act collectively; it is an outcome when it takes collective action, the result of which is community improvement in physical, economic, cultural, social, environment, and political spheres. The realisation of community development, however, depends on how the existing knowledge is used or provided for the people to collectively initiate and execute developmental activities for their community.

Furthermore, Phillips and Pittman (2009) have pointed out that the presence of high degrees of social capital and social capacity in the community makes it possible for people to work together effectively and sustain strong relationships, connections and networks. Social capital and collective community development context are discussed in more detail in chapter 4. Generally, the higher the degree of social capital the easier it is to undertake community development activities. However, in circumstances where social capital is apparently not in existence or is very weak (for community collective work), community development becomes a device for such a purpose. As Gilchrist (2009) reinforces:

Community development work is a process of developing relationships with people, encouraging them to build relationships with each other to get things done; ...educating people about the way they can best live together, and how they can best relate to resources and power (p.101).

In this case, community practitioners are urged to create learning contexts that help local people to make critical connections between their lives and the structures of society that shape their world (Ledwith, 2011). Thus, in essence, it facilitates people empowerment, a crucial aspect of 'collective' community development. Hautekeur (2005) pointed out that empowerment by means of

community development affects both individuals and the wider community network. Empowerment, which has to do with 'power', is a contested and multi-dimensional concept, discussed in section 3.2.3.

In a context where 'power' becomes a crucial element, community development is based on an implicit assumption that the organisation and structure of society cause problems of powerlessness, alienation and inequality (Ledwith, 2011). In a situation of this nature, Ledwith (2011, p.34) asserts, resources and power must be redistributed. This is the situation where (through partnership working such as GCP) community development becomes a significant factor in revolutionising the socio-economic problems for local service improvement in society. Ledwith's perspective of community development has been underpinned by Gramsci's (1971) concept of counter hegemony power and Freire's (1993) focus on a transformatory education process through a radical community development model. Paulo Freire for example, believes that the thrust of change comes from the grassroots (the oppressed people) if they are engaged in a process of critical consciousness to understand the world differently and to unite in collective action to create a better reality. To him, people are capable of engaging in critical dialogue especially when the phenomenon is relevant to their life experiences.

Such circumstances may empower people and ensure non-dependent relationships among actors in the community development process (see Beck and Purcell, 2010). Relevant literature has clearly maintained that local people have direct knowledge which makes them experts of their environment, hence they can identify opportunities and constraints that are not apparent to professionals (see Rifkin and Pridmore, 2001; Das Gupta *et al.*, 2003; Longworth and Osborne, 2010a). This implies the necessity of involving local people in the planning, management and decision-making processes of activities that affect their lives.

Shaeffer (1994) has pointed out that local people are more capable of, and responsive to, social change but less able to change their lives autonomously. Shaeffer suggested two contrasting thoughts for local people's participation in community development activities: the *paternalistic* and the *populistic* (p.32). The *paternalistic* assumes that local people are passive and fatalistic, uninterested and incapable of initiative for improvements, and thus everything

must be done for them in a bureaucratic manner. In a situation like this, individual actors in rural communities become passive participants (Nikkhah and Redzuan, 2009).

The *populistic* thought, on the other hand, perceives rural people as interested in change and completely capable of transforming their communities if only the politicians and bureaucrats would give them such opportunity. However, in Freire's model, as pointed out earlier, people create the opportunity for change, rather than waiting for politicians to give it to them. Partnership working for community development implies the necessity for the government to work with rural people through active and genuine participation (Nikkhah and Redzuan, 2009). Community development therefore lies in listening, valuing, understanding people's experiences and analysing them while linking them to the forces of power embedded in the structure of the society.

3.2.3 Empowerment and power relations in community development

Empowerment in the context of community development and partnership working is a particularly contested concept because it has to do with power and power relations. Page and Czuba (1999) define empowerment as a multi-dimensional social process that helps people gain control over their own lives, a process that fosters power in people to act on issues they define as important for their own lives and for their communities. This is the essence on how powerless groups get access to decision-making processes and play a role in eradicating socio-economic and political problems in society. As Solomon (1976, p.12) argues, 'powerlessness arises through a process whereby valued identities and roles on the one hand, and valuable resources on the other are denied'.

The practice of power, as a core element of empowerment, may depend on whether people perceive it as variable-sum or zero-sum (Mayo and Craig, 1995). When power is seen as a variable-sum term, it is not fixed; it resides with members of society and can increase in society as a whole to achieve collective goals. Based on such a perspective, power can benefit society as a whole. Mayo and Craig (1995, p.5) reinforce this perspective that the powerless can be empowered and share the fruits of development alongside those who have

already achieved power, but social order must be genuinely reinforced. As the study of *Corporate Partnerships and Community Development in Nigeria* revealed, communities that are empowered with sufficient and well-developed capacity are more able to address vulnerabilities and risks as compared to those lacking appropriate capacity in terms of skills, knowledge and awareness (Idemudia, 2007).

When the powerless are empowered, they become the agents of their own development. In other words, this implies that the existing knowledge and experiences that local people already possess, as also assumed by the *populistic* approach, if well utilised, can be used to reinforce and challenge the *status quo* to act fairly. As Gilchrist (2009, p.71) explains, challenging the power of institutions and oppressive practices is a crucial aspect of community development. Gilchrist sees 'empowerment' as a continuous process which enables people to understand, upgrade and use their capacity to better control and gain power over their lives.

The essence of empowerment is based on the extent to which the power structure in a community allows the powerless to access and exercise power as well as gaining resources. 'Participation' for community development activities, according to the Human Development Report (UNDP, 1993, p.21), requires increased influence and control. It needs empowerment in social, economic and political terms. Participation in this report is described as a state in which people have constant access to decision-making and power and thus they can gain access to a broader range of opportunities including economic development. The crucial element in empowerment however, is not only to have access to power structures, but also to have power to influence actions.

The current study of GCP focuses on the provision of education in rural communities where the poor majority reside and are, perhaps, the powerless actors in the community development process. The extent to which people at rural levels have access to power and resources as real partners in the community development process is controversial. As has been acknowledged, there is no doubt that local people possess knowledge, skills, and experience of their environment, but how far they can influence events or actions depends on

whether the power structure is fairly distributed among the actors involved in GCP working.

Empowerment becomes more complex when power is viewed in zero-sum terms because the power of other groups (obviously the poor) is decreased and therefore the goals of society or nation would be achieved from the perspectives of the powerful as part of wider strategies for socio-economic development (Mayo and Craig, 1995). This perspective, as Mayo and Craig pointed out, is based on Weber's description of power:

Power is the ability of one or more individuals/groups to realize their will, even against the resistance of others - whether this involves the use of force or the threat of force, or whether the powerless acquiesce in any case because they accept the legitimacy of the authority of the powerful (p.5).

In this perspective, Pigg (2002) has stated clearly that it is very rare to see the effective transfer of power. As such, the extent to which the powerless can resist the will of the powerful is questionable. This question implies the complexity of the power relationship between the two. That is why effective empowerment is resisted because it involves challenging discrimination, injustice and marginalisation in society (Gilchrist, 2009). Thus, real empowerment to local people (the powerless) can only be possible when they are able to claim and retain power.

In community development in the context of 'partnership working', 'power relations' become critical. Who holds power, who controls and who makes decisions about what and how activities are performed, are controversial subjects in the community development dialogue. Here the concept of hegemony (Gramsci, 1971) is considered. Hegemony means being powerful over the powerless (see also Ledwith, 2011, p.146). It shows how power relations and the ways people's minds work are colonised unquestioningly by dominant attitudes. Instead, Gramsci suggested that the power of the people is central to collective action. It is a collective power that brings more equality to community development activities.

Furthermore, there is a strong association between power and knowledge. Here power is based on knowledge and the effective application of such knowledge to

the real world (Beck and Purcell, 2010). In other words, 'knowledge is power' (Rifkin and Pridmore, 2001). This has implications in GCP working contexts where empowerment to local people is significant to build and improve their capacities. Kotval (2006) holds that community development is about creating social and cultural networks, empowering people through knowledge and techniques as well as creating better places to live and work.

However, as Craig (2011) pointed out, challenges to building 'genuine' partnerships at local levels are caused by uneven capacity and power inequalities among the partners, because the reality of what is supposed to be incorporated in practising (community) capacity building has been either overlooked or neglected, perhaps deliberately by the most powerful partners. Capacity building as concept, Laverghier and Saxby (2001) noted, is complex and difficult to grasp and operationalise in designing, executing and evaluating development initiatives. The United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP, 2006, p.2) writing on '*Capacity Building*', notices that some activities which have no clear objectives or methodologies for capacity building are called 'capacity building', while in reality such activities are just policy dialogues, discussion workshops, seminars or regional meetings.

The major criticisms of capacity building at community level, according to Craig (2011, p.15), include its failure to recognise the 'pre-existing capacity of communities', and the rhetorical nature of commitments by governments to practice community empowerment in reality. This view is in line with the *paternalistic* perspective noted earlier; local communities in this context are assumed to be deficient in terms of skills, knowledge and experience. As such, the system focuses on serving and supporting the *status quo*. Craig (2011, p.13) stated clearly that when it comes to partnership working (government and local communities), power and resources are disproportionately distributed because communities are marked as poor and powerless, and thus are structurally disadvantaged.

As in the case of other terms (such as empowerment, community and community development), the practice of 'capacity building' is also abused and misused. Craig (2011) points out that these terms have been used by planners to present false consensus about goals and interests, and a misleading sense of community

ownership and control. Another term related to 'capacity', which is likely to face similar problems, is 'capability' (see Sen, 1990, 1992, 1993). Capability, as Sen (1993, p.30) describes, focuses on people's ability to do valuable acts or reach valuable states of being, and remove obstacles in their lives. This means that in the capability perspective, people have freedom to do and choose better ways of living such as taking part in discussions or thinking about the development of society. However, as pointed out earlier, local people may only practise such freedom for their development if the power structure allows them to claim the power and act for themselves.

Looking again at capacity building as our focus concept, despite the aforementioned weaknesses in promoting community development activities, it is still recognised as significant for the socio-economic and political development of local communities (see United Nations, 2006; Craig, 2011). The fundamental goal of capacity building is:

To enhance the ability to evaluate and address the crucial questions related to policy choices and modes of implementation among development options, based on an understanding of environment potentials and limits of needs perceived by the people (United Nations, 2006, p.7).

This, for local community members, is described as the essence of 'empowerment' where members are not only equipped with skills and knowledge, but also are promoted to take responsibility for identifying and meeting their own needs (Craig, 2011). For an effective capacity building process, UNEP (2006, p.2) suggested three ways: *first*, to identify needs and build on existing capacities through needs/capacity assessment in which the beneficiaries are supposed to lead the process; *second*, to mutually agree on a clear set of objectives. This helps to reduce redundancy while improving synergy and ensuring that the capacity building genuinely meets the needs of the community. In this stage, the analytical and decision-making capacities among the participants are built. The *third* is the use of a wide range of capacity building approaches including training, formal education, networking and the like.

3.2.4 Needs-based/Assets-based community development approaches

Needs-based community development approach

Needs-based community development (NBCD) has often been seen as an approach that looks at deficits in community. Local community members in such situations are defined as, and see themselves as, deficient and incapable of taking charge of their own development within the community (see Kretzmann and McKnight, 1993; Mathie and Cunningham, 2003). Mathie and Cunningham (2003) have pointed out that an NBCD approach is based on a 'one-sided negative view', which instead of contributing to community capacity building, compromises it. Such an approach is a conventional way of approaching community development where local people identify (a long list) of issues, problems or needs in their community and work out how to fix them (Haines, 2009, p.39). More often, however, the local authority identifies the issues and presents them to the local community as problems to be solved. In many low-economic communities with acute poverty, unemployment and so on, it is easy to point out problems or deficits. Kretzmann and McKnight (1993, p.4) have noted that even leadership at local levels is judged on 'how many resources are attracted to the community, rather than how they have helped the community to become self-reliant'. Leaders therefore concentrate on severity of problems as the best way to attract resources and funds for community development.

By focusing on problems, (local) leaders, practitioners and community members tend to concentrate only on what is missing in a community and ignore the causes of problems (Haines, 2009), as well as the community's own problem solving capacities and local assets that can be used for development (Kretzmann and McKnight, 1993). In the Tanzanian context, an example of an NBCD approach to community development is the 'Opportunities and Obstacles of Development' (O&OD) established in 2002. It claims to give local authorities and communities the power and authority to identify problems, prioritise them, decide, plan and execute solutions (URT, 2009b). This would sound promising if there were genuine power relation procedures that ensured the balance of power between local authority and communities. As noted above, however, power tends to follow the hegemonic nature of power relations, whereby the powerful decide

and the powerless implement in the name of a ‘participatory approach’. As Mathie and Cunningham (2003) also pointed out, government agencies and non-governmental organisations have a tendency to set the terms of community engagement, limiting this engagement to consultation rather than community decision-making.

Assets-based community development approach

Assets-based community development (ABCD) is an alternative approach to the community development process introduced to deal with the deficiencies observed in NBCD, which exclusively focus on needs and problems. The ABCD approach is inclusive in nature; it recognises the capacities of local people and their associations in building powerful communities (Kretzmann and McKnight, 1993). This emphasises the need to recognise and exploit the existing assets more effectively, in terms of a community’s strengths and capacities, thereby promoting citizen-led initiatives (Haines, 2009; Russell, 2009). However, it does not mean ABCD ignores problems in the community. Instead, it begins with their strengths and achievements. By doing so, ABCD avoids discouraging people in the solving of overwhelming lists of endless problems and, instead, builds positive perspectives on community (see Haines, 2009). In other words, ABCD incorporates the *populistic* perspective pointed earlier, encouraging local people to recognise their knowledge, skills and experiences in identifying the sources of problems and solving them. Mathie and Cunningham (2003, p.474) reinforce such views:

The appeal of ABCD lies in its premise that people in communities can organise and drive the development process themselves by identifying and mobilising existing (but often unrecognised) assets, thereby responding to and creating local economic opportunity.

Assets are resources including any useful or valuable quality, person, or advantage (Haines, 2009, p.40). Thus, individuals, associations, local institutions and organisations are useful and valuable assets. ABCD supports the idea that individuals within the community are potential assets to grow in the long-term (Haines, 2009; O’Leary *et al.*, 2011). Similarly, Community Development Policy in Tanzania considers people as one of the main resources for the community development process (URT, 1996). However, the extent to which such important

resources are utilised in the ABCD framework is a case worthy of investigation, especially in the situation where collective working through GCP is highly encouraged. Dongier *et al.* (2002) have pointed out that in the process of achieving community development, local people have to be treated ‘genuinely’ as both assets and partners; because local people have various skills and knowledge useful for effective community development.

However, for local people to build on existing capacities and work as proper partners, people’s empowerment to facilitate ‘genuine’ power relations is indispensable. Russell (2009, p.1) reinforces this:

This approach genuinely empowers citizens and thereby strengthens civil society as assets of communities are identified, connected and mobilised, and the abilities and insights of local residents become resources for solving problems.

This is why ‘power re-allocation’ to local communities has been pointed to as a central theme of ABCD (Mathie and Cunningham, 2003). This implies that the power of decision-making that local people have been denied (resulting from NBCD and other related top-down approaches to community development initiatives) have to be ‘re-allocated’ and shared by all actors for effective ABCD. Mathie and Cunningham (2003) have warned both governments and non-government agencies to avoid the situation where ABCD is used as a self-serving initiative; rather they have to play the role related to the social obligations inherent in government-citizen/community relationships. This has to go hand-in-hand with a clear set of rules based on transparency, commitment and accountability in which, according to Dongier *et al.* (2002), they protect community resources from corruption by the powerful.

Furthermore, although ABCD enables communities to plan activities without, or with a minimum of, outside intervention (O’Leary *et al.*, 2011), outside help for a suffering community is imperative, although the project must be ‘citizen-led’ (Russell, 2009) with outside agencies playing a supporting role. The essence of citizen-led initiatives is when the movement of community development begins from inside, with people’s awareness of their strengths.

Indeed, every community which is rural, isolated or poor has resources or assets which when invested appropriately create new resources in the form of ‘capital’ (O’Leary *et al.*, 2011, p.7). In the framework of ABCD, distinguishing tangible assets from intangible ones is considered significant in making the intangible more visible/tangible (see Haines, 2009; O’Leary *et al.*, 2011). Although intangible assets (including experiences, personal strengths, stories, cultural, traditions, skills and knowledge) are somewhat vague, they are crucial for the well-being of people and communities.

There are in some models seven forms of capital – physical or public; financial; social; human; natural or environment; cultural; and political capital (Haines, 2009, p.40). O’Leary *et al.*, (2011) have pointed out that the community can use human and social capital to build other forms of capital such as financial. Human capital refers to the skills, talents and knowledge of community members. Therefore, general education, experiences and leadership skills are examples of human capital (Haines, 2009). However, the extent to which people’s strengths, knowledge and skills are channelled into the system has significant implications for promoting effective collective community development initiatives through GCP working.

Physical or public capital includes roads, buildings and natural resources, schools, colleges and prisons (Haines, 2009) which are mostly the community’s property. This capital depends greatly on the extent and capacity of human and social capital among the community members. Social capital refers to social relationships and connectedness within a community. It includes trust, norms and established social networks. In a community development context, Haines (2009) argues, social relationships are an essential component for a project’s success, as they impact on mobilisation for community participation. The importance of social capital when ABCD is employed in community development activities has also been highlighted by Mathie and Cunningham (2003, p.474) that ABCD draws particular attention to the talents of individuals as well as the social capital inherent in the relationships that fuel local association and informal networks. Community participation as an important concept in GCP working is discussed next.

3.3 Community participation

Responses to the effects of world economic crisis in the 1970s and 1980s coupled with other internal disasters, including civil wars and drought in some of the developing countries, have reduced the role of governments in social services provision. Community participation was used as a reconstructive device encouraging people to work for successful community development activities. In this case, community participation received important attention both as an end and a means to reduce poverty and achieve sustainable development. Rose (2003a) reinforces this, noting that efficiency and equity were central to community participation. Therefore, the search for an alternative source of resources where governments' resources are insufficient was not accidental. Indeed, the emphasis on community participation has corresponded with economic tragedy which has negatively affected the education systems in most of sub-Saharan African countries (Shaeffer, 1992; Bray, 1996).

The concept of 'participation' (*kushirikiana* in Swahili¹³ – meaning helping each other, cooperating or working together – the words used since *ujamaa*) has continued to revolve in people's minds and practices. Marsland (2006) noted the continuity in terms of the language used to speak about development practice both in the past and in today's post-socialist Tanzania. This means the philosophy of socialism and self-reliance still fits with the current thinking of community participation. As such, 'participation' will remain a vital component of self-help and community development process (Nikkhah and Redzuan, 2009), as a democratic principle and a basis of community development practice (Ledwith, 2011). However, looking at Shelly Arnstein's ladder of participation (section 3.3.1), 'real' participation in developmental activities, including decision-making processes, depends on how genuinely people are involved as part of the process from the beginning; contrary to that is just a *tokenism* kind of participation or a complete *non-participation*.

Community participation is associated with empowerment and respect for and the use of local knowledge. It refers to the involvement of 'local' people in

¹³ Swahili is a native language spoken by people from East African countries. It is formulated from both Arabic and vernacular languages. In Tanzania, it is the official and national language that unites people from various ethnic groups of more than 120 tribal languages.

decision-making processes and evaluation of development activities (Marsland, 2006). Empowering people, means giving the powerless opportunities and inspiration to gain experiences and confidence in influencing decisions that affect their lives (Rifkin and Pridmore, 2001, p.3). In this way, local people build their confidence to share knowledge and experiences for effective communal development. In other words, ‘just’ participation does not necessarily lead to empowerment; rather the environment under which collective working is undertaken has to allow a nurturing process of people’s aspirations and skills. As noted earlier, the idea of involving local people in the planning and decision-making of the development project stems from the fact that local people have experiences and insights into what works, what does not work and why (Rifkin and Pridmore, 2001).

In practice however, most community development activities are donor-oriented imposed with an identified problem and pre-planned activities with the expectation of utilising local people’s labour and resources. In Tanzania, for example, Marsland (2006, p.70) finds that participation is a key word in a language that today’s post-socialist Tanzania speaks in common with external development partners. The attractiveness of the word participation allows many countries to retain control over their citizens, particularly the poor at rural levels. Therefore, the level under which ‘real participation’ is being undertaken is important.

3.3.1 *Patterns of participation*

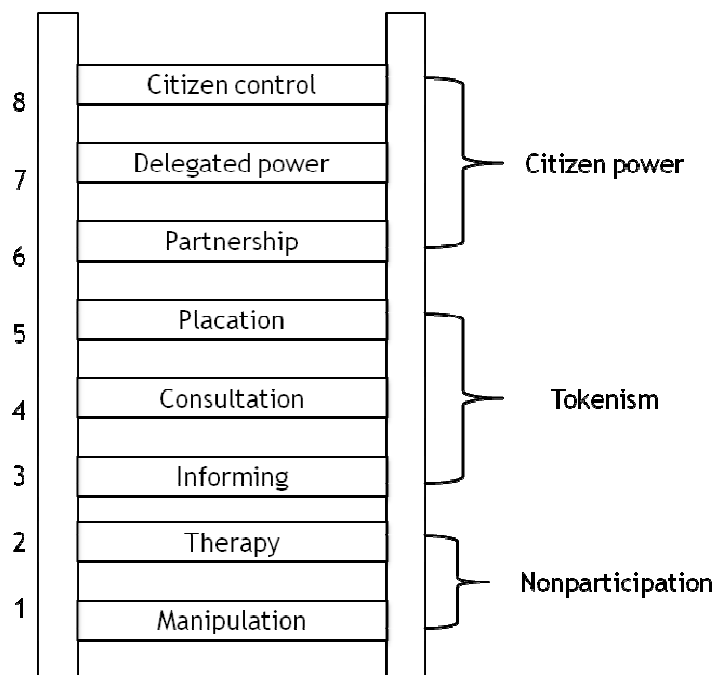
The degree of participation ranges from ‘*genuine-participation*’ to ‘*pseudo-participation*’ (Bray, 2000b; Rose, 2003a). The former implies that all members of a community have the ability to take part in real decision-making and governance with equal power to determine the outcome of decisions. The latter on the other hand is just a consultative process in which community members are merely kept informed of developments at their village or school level.

Arnstein (1969) developed a ‘*ladder of citizen participation*’ showing eight rungs representing patterns of participation. Since then various scholars have shown interest in the field attempting to criticise Arnstein’s ladder to develop ‘new’ ladders of their own (see Connor, 1988; Wilcox, 1994; Choguill, 1996). However,

all these ladders of participation (the ‘new’ and Arnstein’s) have one common criticism: they are static and inflexible while retaining a hierarchical approach toward the community development process (Tritter and McCallumb, 2006). As such, Arnstein’s ladder of citizen participation remains the relevant ladder in analysing patterns and levels of participation in community development activities.

In Arnstein’s ladder, the degree of participation is represented in three main levels: *non-participation*, *tokenism* and *citizen power*. The three levels are categorised into ‘eight rungs’ where each rung denotes the extent of citizens’ power. These are presented in figure 3.1.

Figure 3.1: Ladder of citizen participation



Source: Arnstein (1969, p.217)

The artificiality of the ‘non-participation’ level is observed when viewed as an alternative to genuine-participation (Arnstein, 1969). At this level, the power-holders deny people an opportunity to participate in planning programmes for their development. Crosby *et al.* (1986, p.171) remark that ordinary citizens are capable of doing an effective job of decision-making if the hearing format is properly structured for them. Contrary to this, as Crosby and colleagues argue, is a manipulation process, similar to what Bray (2000b) calls *pseudo-participation*.

On the 'tokenism' level, the poor (or powerless) have some room to hear and air their concerns, but there is no assurance that their views will be considered in decision-making by the power-holders. As Connor (1988, p.253) argues, the consultation level is just an advisory process that allows the proponents to accept or reject the views expressed by the public. That means ideas from the people are less important in planning developmental activities. In that case, we might question the relevance of seeking people's opinions without utilising them.

As for the last level 'citizen power', the degree of decision-making by all is increased as people have the opportunity to enter into partnership and negotiate with power-holders. This is the highest level of participation where people at local levels, usually the poor (or 'have-nots' as Arnstein puts it) are given power and authority to make decisions and control their developmental activities. However, since the question of 'who holds real power' is controversial, genuine participation on the part of the rural poor for their development is doubtful. In fact, due to diversity in perspectives, neither the have-nots nor the power-holders are homogeneous communities (Arnstein, 1969). These are the circumstances where the UNDP (1993, p.28) has termed participation as a plant that grows with lots of difficulties due to powerful vested interests driven by personal greed, which thwart people from exercising political and economic power. Such a system, UNDP claims, favours those with political influence and economic power, which makes it difficult for the lawmakers and other observers to measure the ideal transparency, accountability, fairness and equality of the powerful actors.

In addition, since actual participation seems to appear only on the last level, the ordinary poor people are likely to have little confidence and power over decisions. As such, final decisions and control might remain with the power-holders or planners. Rifkin and Pridmore (2001, p.18) make this explicit: 'people must be involved from the process of gathering and interpreting information, identifying problems and prioritising them, finding solutions, carrying out the activities and evaluation'. This, if conducted genuinely, might become the basis for active participation.

3.3.2 Motives for people participation

The driving force of communities for engaging in community participation is the desire to solve commonly perceived problems as experienced in the everyday socio-economic lives of the members. This is what Mbithi and Rasmusson (1977, p.97) refers to as social and economic development strains and stress. They maintain that:

In collective activities, individuals are guided by the principle of 'collective good' rather than 'individual gain', and of mutual assistance, joint effort, mutual social responsibility and community self-reliance (Mbithi and Rasmusson, 1977, p.14).

In other words, this is a collective gain at individual expense. Thus, collective goals might be achieved when people recognise that they gain in the process. With such beliefs, local people (particularly in rural communities) are willing to voluntarily work together to pursue common goals for the common good. In Southern Sri Lanka, Shoji *et al.* (2010) found that various households participated in community work because of the risk sharing networks. Here people are willing to complete a joint task when the return to risk sharing ratio is high. They perceive personal benefit from collective activity, which decreases the opportunity costs of community participation. Therefore, when people engage in mutually participatory activities, the main target is not only communal development but also belongingness.

With respect to GCP working in education provision, the awareness of a strong link between increased productivity and education attainment in 'rural' communities has increased (Galabawa, 2005). Education is perceived as a key foundation for a better life, which motivates people to engage in educational activities offering financial, human labour and materials. Brown (1991, p.55) reinforces that 'people make extraordinary efforts to keep their children at school because of the conviction that it will bring them economic advancement and personal satisfaction'. The value attached to education is perhaps the realisation of what goes with an educated person in terms of employability, income level, wealth accumulation, social mobility and modernity (see Mbithi and Rasmusson, 1977; Kamando, 2007).

In that case, and as Ishumi (1981) points out, to realise change and improvement in people's lives, the processes of education and development have to be co-sponsored. Moreover, Mbithi and Rasmusson (1977) have remarked that since education is the main vehicle for social mobility, status, wealth and success, the positive attributes people attach to their own development become social capital for the whole community. Here education is considered as a prerequisite and an outcome of the development process in community. As such, the philosophy behind educational projects for community development is that education is an instrument for the advancement, progress and self-actualisation of individual(s) and community (Ishumi, 1981; Samoff, 1987).

However, in many cases, as Bray (2003) maintains, community input to education and school systems has been (and perhaps still is) a response to lack of and/or inconsistent government action. Bray (2003, p.34) asserts:

...communities in such situations feel that the main responsibility for education lies with their governments, but yet the governments are either unable or unwilling to make adequate provision.

In such circumstances, people have felt the drive and the responsibility to help themselves, with any government assistance taken as supplementary and a bridging booster. Besides, in poor African countries (like Tanzania where financial resources are few and far between) volunteerism is precipitated by a cultural tradition that naturally pre-disposes people to accept that development in their communities will be brought by themselves (see URT, 1996; Davidson, 2004). The next section examines the decision-making process in the context of community participation.

3.3.3 Policy and decision-making: a community participation task

In a democratic era, policy and decision-making with people's voices is a multifaceted practice. Osman (2002, p.38) pointed out that:

Policy-making is not a simple rather a complex 'interactive' dynamic process involving series of actions and inactions of varieties of groups with different interests.

Policy-making is a political process because it is located in public spheres addressing issues that affect people's lives in communities (Birkland, 2011). Policy in these circumstances is a product of political influence that determines and sets limits on the government's action (Osman, 2002). Osman defines policy as a broad statement that reflects future goals and aspirations while providing guidelines for carrying out those goals.

Developing such a policy is a process that requires a collective binding decision, one that Hunold (2001, p.152) calls 'deliberative democracy'. The purpose is to produce a policy that enjoys a high degree of democratic legitimacy. It is assumed that involving people in policy-making is an investment grounded in people's preferences and thus governance is likely to emerge from the democratic process (OECD, 2001; Irvin and Stansbury, 2004). Policy development therefore is a decision-making process that addresses the identified goals and problems (Torjman, 2005, p.4). It represents the results of a decision on how best to achieve specific objectives. Generally, it is an ongoing process shaped by the changing contextual circumstances (Hyden and Karlstrom, 1993).

The context under which policy-making process takes place is a crucial factor to determine the nature of policy-decisions (Osman, 2002). For example, public policies in developing countries are influenced by unstable socio-political environments with various problems and challenges including poverty, ill-health, low education, low living standards, poor communication, high population, unemployment, and limited government transparency, accountability and responsibility (Narayan *et al.*, 2000; Osman, 2002; Mosha, 2006). As such, policy formulation does not necessarily follow a clear and consistent route; instead, it is an involved and haphazard process (Torjman, 2005).

There are various approaches towards policy-making process, namely: rational, incremental, mixed scanning model, institutionalism, elite theory, group theory, pluralist theory, and political system model or social system theory (see Easton, 1965; Osman, 2002; Torjman, 2005; Mosha, 2006). Ideally, in modern society, policies are developed collectively through a participatory political process (Mosha, 2006). For this study, the political system model is considered as useful due to its nature of interrelatedness and the interdependence of units and actors involved in a social structure. The study of GCP involves the variety and

diversity of actors. The way decisions are reached for collective community development activities determines both the genuineness and efficiency of GCP working.

Easton (1965) views policy process as demands arising from the environment through a political system model. Here policies are outputs or feedback resulting from inputs converted through the political system. Inputs come from the outside environment (including pressure and interest groups and consumer groups) in the form of demands and supports (Osman, 2002). This is 'input-throughput-output-feedback', which Easton refers to as interactive stages to the policy-making process. In community development for example, inputs could include experiences and perceived obstacles to socio-economic development by the community members.

One of the challenges of policy-making under this model is the requirement of careful scanning of the environment and knowledge of the basic inputs including human capital (Mosha, 2006, p.43). It is also argued that policy ideas often do not go further than the agenda stage (Birkland, 2011). That means inputs or demands from the community/environment may get stuck at an early stage. Therefore, policy-making does not necessarily follow the chain of action Easton suggests. It is more complex in the context of developing countries where inputs (demand and support) from society for decision-making are less valued (Osman, 2002, p.39).

The major problem for leaders in these countries is power-retention while disregarding popular support (Osman, 2002). Because of such self-seeking behaviour, the economic theory perspective suggests that people at top levels should not be left alone because of their tendency to seek their own ends at the expense of others (see Mosha, 2006, p.39). Such power differences decrease the accountability and transparency, leading to poor services to local people (Research on Poverty Alleviation (REPOA), 2008). In this context, local people might not be aware of the mechanisms available to enforce the accountability of powerful leaders. Local people are mainly involved through consultations, which fall in the lower category on the ladder of influence (figure 3.1). Generally, policy-making is a reflection of power distribution where grassroots views will only be reflected in policy if the power structure allows.

For public good, engaging potential targets and citizens in discussions about policy options is the best way to minimise any self-centred behaviour resulting from individual power or problems in the system (Torjman, 2005). Pluralism believes that policies meet the norms of freedom and equality when everyone expected to be affected by a decision is granted an opportunity (see Hunold, 2001, p.152). This is essential for collective decision-making outcomes, but only possible if local people have the collective power to make things happen.

As pointed out earlier, however, in developing countries policy development takes place in conditions of uncertainty, which produce policies based on loosely connected processes (Hyden and Karlstrom, 1993). In most cases, and as appears to be suggested in the literature (see Hyden and Karlstrom, 1993; Therkildsen, 2000; Makulilo and Raphael, 2010), policy-making in these countries is influenced by political-ideology and economic pressures, with a dominant approach of top-down decisions, despite the awareness of people's political and democratic rights in decision-making. The selected districts in the study of GCP, will exemplify the reality of these issues in the Tanzanian context.

The tensions of practising 'genuine community participation' in decision-making processes seem to be fused in the legacy of the single-party politics that centralised the decision-making of community development activities (Hyden and Karlstrom, 1993; Makulilo and Raphael, 2010). This is the situation where planners and the political elites dominate the process in order to continue holding power. Another tension could be the demands of funders, as Hyden and Karlstrom (1993) and Therkildsen (2000) noted; the top-down domination in the decision-making process in developing countries is influenced by economic dependency in the style of donor-funded projects.

Looking at Nyerere's legacy and the idea of dependency, he had foreseen the effect of relying on external donors - that it would go against the idea of being independent. For him, it could still be exploitation, as in the colonial era. Meredith (2006), writing about *African States and Fifty Years of Independence*, notes that Nyerere's philosophy of socialism and self-reliance meant that Tanzania would have to rely less on foreign aid. Here Nyerere thought that government officials/bureaucrats and leaders could spend more time in the villages showing the people how to bring about development through their own

efforts rather than going on so many long and expensive journeys abroad in search of development money (see Mwakikagila, 2006, p.54). The cost of relying on external support for economic development is evident in current development practices, as discussed in section 3.3.5. Most external aid is accompanied by conditions that do not only influence the decision-making and practices, but also have undermined accountability and commitment to local development (see Guhan, 1998; Knack, 2000; Santiso, 2001; Kaufmann *et al.*, 2009). Instead, as Meredith (2006, p.251) pointed out, many ministries and civil servants in African countries are unable to conceive of a development effort except in terms of attracting foreign aid.

Moreover, Therkildsen (2000, p.62) writing about *Public Sector Reforms in Tanzania*, maintains that the direct involvement of donors makes it difficult to identify the existence of domestic political support in the reform package. In such circumstances, the government loses control over decisions. In addition, experience shows that when it comes to policy dialogue or shaping reforms, top leaders at government level have not yet demonstrated active engagement in the process (Therkildsen, 2000). They do not show interest in sharing policy ideas with people within or between ministries and with external stakeholders, indicating a poor governance system. It is, therefore, uncertain how ordinary people can be part of decision-making when their leaders are not cooperating. In the education sector, Mosha (2006, p.13) has argued that education planners lack the opportunity to offer their expertise before politicians and policy-makers make overly ambitious policy pronouncements. This is a typical top-down model of community development. Sadly, it seems that mechanisms to either unseat the non-performing leaders and politicians or hold them responsible and accountable for their action are either lacking or unclear (see REPOA, 2008).

By denying people's voices and expertise in the decision-making process, Hyden & Karlstron (1993, p.1402) assert that policy makers get the opportunity to impose orders, attribute meaning, and provide explanations about decisions even where this is impossible. Therefore, with the tendency to under-utilise local experts and local knowledge in important decisions for community and national development, as also Linder and Peters (1984, p.237) noted, there is a high possibility of policy choices reached by a few top people/leaders relying on

limited knowledge. If we consider Arnstein's ladder of participation (figure 3.1), local people belong in the 'non-participation' or 'tokenism' level.

During the implementation of top-down decisions, local people (the implementers) would find difficulty due to their limited knowledge about the decided policy. Similarly, Baboon (2008) in Mauritius has found a communication blockage of policy issues from top to the public. In most cases, and as Makongo and Mbilinyi (2003) observed, government officials (top leaders) are the main barrier to communities' efforts to implement policies. Therefore, if policy can hardly be implemented, I agree with Makongo and Mbilinyi (2003, p.12) argument that 'a policy that cannot be implemented is not a policy'.

3.3.4 Leadership and community participation

Leadership is another complicated term especially when it is conceptualised and practised in a context where a participatory approach for community development activities is indispensable. Leadership in this manner pays attention to common goals (Northouse, 2010). This, according to Northouse (2010, p.3) reduces the possibility of unethical behaviour among the leaders since it stresses the selected goals for common good. Here, leaders and followers are in a mutual relationship. Fairholm (1994, p.3) talked about the necessity of mutual trust in leadership views leadership as an expression of collective community action, a result of leaders and stakeholders collaboratively working to jointly achieve mutual goals. Pigg (1999, p.196) reinforces community as a field of social interaction:

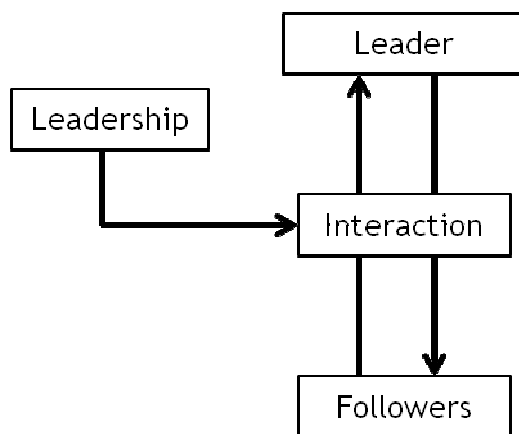
Community leaders must build relationships with a particular purpose, such as development of the community represented by a generalised structure characterised by mutuality and reciprocity.

In this situation, leadership follows a multidirectional relationship where all participants become active with mutual purpose built and shared over time. In this, Pigg (1999) claims that leadership creates leaders through the process where an individual is committed to meet the community's expectations created from members' collective wants and needs for future good. The focus of leaders in this context is to ensure the needs of people in a community are being served (see also Hassan and Silong, 2008). However, this might depend on leaders'

capabilities to bring the energies of community members to bear in achieving goals that are outwith individual capacity (Keohane, 2010).

Therefore, leadership is a process based on the context of interactions between leaders and members of the community (see figure 3.2). Leadership, as Northouse (2010) suggests, is a learned process through interactive events whereby both a leader and followers affect each other. Hassan and Silong (2008, p.367) point out that leadership at local level is a shared democratic and participatory task involving people in collective, collaborative, cooperative, and connective activities.

Figure 3.2: Leadership as an interactive process



Source: Northouse (2010, p.4)

As a set of processes, leadership is about influence and mobilising people to tackle problems that are perceived as obstacles to development (Hartley, 2002). This, at local levels, represents the needs of diverse and competing groups and interests. Here, Hartley (2002) suggests the need to develop people's capacities to voice their needs for local solutions to local problems. In a situation where some groups, rural communities in particular, happen to have traditionally been passive participants in decision-making, Hartley maintains that capacity building would develop skills, confidence and motivation. In addition, whilst capacity building in local people is necessary for them to question the authenticity of leadership as active actors in community development process, the tradition of rural people believing in their leaders as having final say, might inhibit such questioning.

Irira (1977) has observed that successful community development depends on good leadership, one that is conversant with the community context and committed to community problems. Thus, leadership skills (especially in local leaders) is fundamental to guiding them to perform their roles effectively. The skill model for leadership describes the importance of developing particular leadership skills for leaders operating at lower levels of management, technical and human skills (Northouse, 2010, p.52). It stresses the competences of leaders as central determinants of effective problem solving skills and social judgement skills.

In addition, individual attributes, experiences or environmental influences, Northouse (2010) argues, are also important, as they impact on leadership competencies. That is why local knowledge, training and empowerment become essential for effective community participation. Das Gupta *et al.* (2003, p.1) state clearly that local leaders are the closest leaders to the local people with experience of direct knowledge regarding local environment, needs and problems. This implies the necessity of not only recognising local knowledge and experiences, but also developing them through capacity building and empowerment. However, with the politics of power structure, the effectiveness of local leaders depends on how they became leaders and whether they are respected as leaders.

Makongo and Mbilinyi (2003) have mentioned that for educational leaders such as school boards and committees, their roles and functions go beyond classroom constructions to include mobilising voluntary community contributions for school and education projects. In these tasks, they are working close with local leaders. Capacity building, according to Harris and Lambert (2003, p.5), would develop their conditions, skills and abilities to manage and facilitate productive change at school level. Therefore, despite community development activities operating within, and being limited by, the tensions and interests of the bureaucracy and political parties, the importance of developing leadership skills can never be overemphasised especially in the current ever-changing world with multiple challenges.

A major milestone of the public service leaders, pointed out by the representatives from Tanzania and Singapore in the *Commonwealth Association*

for *Public Administration and Management* (CAPAM, 2009, p.5), is that leaders struggle with difficult and change-oriented working environments; thus CAPAM suggested the need to change from traditional linear approaches to modern ones. Here, there is a fundamental need for leaders to become competent in cross-cultural awareness and practices, as House and Javidan (2004) noted the increased challenges of identifying and selecting appropriate leaders to manage institutions with culturally diverse people in society as a result of globalisation.

Leadership is about influencing, a process of persuasion (Pigg, 1999; Northouse, 2010). The ability to influence others, according to Pigg (1999, p.204), comes from the use of 'power resources' including reputation, personality, purpose, interpersonal skills, give-and-take behaviours, authority or lack of it, symbolic interaction and motivation. Similarly, Northouse (2010) argues that people have power when they are able to affect others' beliefs, attitudes and course of action. In this context, proper leadership style would add value to the power. Leadership styles, as Sorensen and Epps (1996) assert, range from the authoritarian to the democratic. In modern society, a leader has to consider people's democratic rights while influencing actions.

Therefore, leadership is about the power to influence people (Hassan and Silong, 2008; Keohane, 2010). This implies the necessity of granting leaders at local levels such power to mobilise people for collective activities. In addition, for leaders to practise such power effectively they also need to have legitimacy in the eyes of the local people. However, as Keohane (2010) points out, the link between leadership and power is intimate and complex in which some actors, when in position, may carry out their will despite resistance. In this situation, Keohane (2010, p.2) added, 'power can corrupt those who possess it' and they may misuse it for personal gain.

In Tanzania, for example, under the leadership of Nyerere (during *ujamaa* and single-party politics) a 'leadership code' was established to forbid the government and party officials having a second income from private business or rents (see Ergas, 1980; Pratt, 1999). Nyerere had always been negative towards leaders who used their positions to accumulate wealth. Mihangwa (2011) quoted Nyerere warning leaders that the acquisition of power was not meant to be used to exploit others, but rather they should work for the common good of all. Such

views were based on the perspective of a socialist self-reliant society through the policy of socialism and rural development, and meant to unite people and share the national cake in equal and communal terms.

However, despite the clear set of leadership codes, there were elements of distrust, manipulation and exploitation between local/village leaders, bureaucrats and villagers. Stren (1981, p.597) observed (in *ujamaa* villages) that while village leaders' social ties were with the ordinary villagers, they needed to have good relations with bureaucrats to maintain their positions in the village committee. This is the situation where most leaders prioritise self-interest and power retention. Besides, Stren (1981) found that government personnel seldom took part in manual work in the villages and never integrated themselves with village life, yet they communicate with village leaders whereby their words carry much weight in decisions. By implication, local leaders living in villages with local people may find themselves in a conflicted position where their links are neither strong with the villagers nor with the bureaucrats who hold such power in decisions.

In order to minimise the misuse of power, leaders have to adhere to ethical and moral judgement of leadership (see Morrell and Hartley, 2006a; Northouse, 2010). Ethics is concerned with morality, whether actions are good or bad, right or wrong, virtuous or vicious (Morrell and Hartley, 2006a). With regard to leadership, Northouse (2010) argues, ethics has to do with what leaders do. That means the choices leaders make and how they respond in a given circumstance are informed and directed by their ethics. Moral and ethical values include transparency, accountability, honesty, fairness, integrity and respect (Morrell and Hartley, 2006a; Northouse, 2010). The absence of these values, as Morrell and Hartley (2006a, p.55) remark, is the common failure of various organisations and public services in particular.

Leadership ethics have a controversial status where a leader has to balance personal interest with responsibility (URT, 1995b). Northouse (2010, p.382) argues that leaders usually have more power and control than other people in making changes in other people's lives, which bears an enormous ethical burden and responsibility. The URT (1995b) states clearly about ethical standards:

Public leaders shall while in office, act with honesty, compassion, sobriety, confidence, and temperance, and uphold the highest possible ethical standards so that public confidence and trust in the integrity, objectivity and impartiality of government are conserved and enhanced (p.401).

The URT goes further to state:

...public leaders shall not knowingly take advantage of, or benefit from information which is obtained in the course of their official duties and responsibilities and that is not generally available to the public (p.402).

This, in other words, suggests that public leaders shall not put themselves in a position where their personal interest conflicts with their responsibility as a leader. Moreover, as Northouse (2010) notes, leaders working with people for collective problems have the ethical responsibility to treat them with dignity and respect. By respecting other people (especially in collective or partnership working), they are psychologically motivated to work hard. As motivation theory asserts, satisfaction of self-respect or self-esteem leads to feelings of self-confidence, strength, capability, and adequacy, and most importantly a person or leader feels useful and necessary in society (see Maslow, 1970). Without this satisfaction, Maslow suggests people develop feelings of inferiority and helplessness. In this context, and in the practice of GCP in general for common good, it is essential to discuss ‘governance’ as a key aspect that helps to understand the system.

3.3.5 Governance and ‘good’ governance in the GCP context

Governance, and ‘good’ governance in particular plays a critical role in determining societal well-being (Graham *et al.*, 2003). It is a multifaceted concept, as its practice has to do with power structure in society. The politics of power in a context where community development practice relies on collective and partnership working is critical since whoever holds power, whoever controls and makes decisions of what and how activities are implemented, are controversial subjects that can either facilitate or constrain the community development process. In this situation, the type of governance in a society may determine decisions of who should be involved in the process, who gets power and how accountability is rendered (Graham *et al.*, 2003).

The concept of governance, as the World Bank cited in Santiso (2001, p.3) argues, captures the manner in which power is exercised in the management of social and economic resources for the country's development. That means the governance structure of the country tells how effective the government is in service delivery. Kaufmann *et al.* (2009, p.5) in their report on *Governance Matters VIII*, define governance broadly as:

...traditions and institutions by which authority in a country is exercised; includes the process by which governments are selected, monitored and replaced; the capacity of the government to effectively formulate and implement sound policies; and the respect of citizens and the state for the institutions that govern economic and social interactions among them.

Such a detailed description of governance needs a responsive and legitimate government with high accountability and a transparent system in which the decision-making process includes the voice of all people (particularly at local levels). However, looking at decentralisation reform as an important governance agenda that empowers the poor to remove bottlenecks in decision-making and improves accountability at local levels (Grindle, 2004), many developing countries, as Bardhan (2002) noted, lack structures for local accountability, and local governments sympathise with the needs of local power-elites rather than with the common good. To make decentralisation effective and responsive to the needs of the poor majority at local levels, Bardhan (2002, p.202) argues for a change of power structures in communities to improve opportunities for participation and give voice to the disadvantaged in the political process. As such, the quality of a country's governance system is significant in determining the ability to practise sustainable social and economic development (Santiso, 2001) for the local poor.

In such circumstances, the call for 'good' governance emerges as an essential ingredient for poverty reduction in developing countries, upon which attacking poverty became a condition for debt relief (Grindle, 2004). Grindle described the institutions of these countries as:

Weak, vulnerable, and very imperfect: their decision-making spaces are constricted by the presence of international actors with multiple priorities, their public organisations are bereft of resources and are

usually badly managed; those who work for government are generally poorly trained and motivated (Grindle, 2004, p.526).

Similarly, Santiso (2001, p.5) writing about *Good-Governance, World Bank and Aid Conditionality*, observed that the World Bank characterises the crisis in developing countries as a 'crisis of governance' due to the continuing lack of effectiveness of aid, mismanagement and the persistence of endemic corruption. In this case, aid conditionality in the recipient countries was proved insufficient to control the governments' malfunction and strengthen good governance due to a lack of commitment and ownership of reforms among these countries. Aid dependence, according to researchers (at the World Bank) can undermine the quality of governance. For example, Knack (2000) noted that between 1982-1995, aid was associated with an increase in corruption, deterioration in the quality of bureaucracy and the rule of law becoming weak. Also, Guhan (1998) has criticised the World Bank as being part of the source which undermines the quality of governance. Guhan noted that governance-related aid conditionalities might not be effective in the recipient countries; as such, Guhan calls them 'artificial'.

A good governance system, Santiso argues, is one that extends beyond public sector capacity to the rules that create a legitimate, effective and efficient framework for public policy conduct, implying that public affairs have to be managed in a transparent, accountable, participatory and equitable manner. To strengthen such conviction, researchers at the World Bank pointed out six main dimensions of good governance — *Worldwide Governance Indicators*:

Figure 3.3: Six dimensions of good governance

1. Voice and accountability: country's citizens ability to participate
2. Political stability and absence of violence
3. Government effectiveness: quality of public services and the degree of its independence from political pressures, quality of policy formulation and implementation, and the credibility of government's commitment to policies
4. Regulatory quality: ability of the government to formulate and implement sound policies and regulations to promote private sectors
5. Rule of law: quality of contract enforcement, police and the courts (i.e., independence of judiciary)
6. Control of corruption: the extent to which public power is exercised for private gain – both petty and grand forms of corruption

Source: Kaufmann *et al.* (2009, p.5-6)

Looking at the above dimensions or conditions of good governance, most of them, as Grindle (2004) emphasises, are laudable and critical goals in themselves (e.g., reducing corruption, improving accountability or participation in policy decision-making), such that no country would argue against or even doubt their capacity to alleviate poverty if governments perform accordingly. Perhaps, it is in this context that African leaders involved in the *New Partnership for Africa's Development* (NEPAD) pointed 'good governance' as a prerequisite for Africa's renewal (Taylor, 2010). To put such ideas into practice, in paragraph 49 of NEPAD African leaders agreed to develop clear standards of accountability, transparency and participatory governance at national and sub-national levels (Taylor, 2010, p.54).

In Tanzania for example, the Tanzania Development Vision 2025 (URT, 1999) has considered governance and good governance, as among the major challenges that impede the country's efforts to achieve various development plans and goals for poverty reduction. Thus, as a long-term plan, the vision stated clearly that to achieve the country's development goals by 2025, good governance must be cultivated by promoting the culture of accountability and transparency as well as reinforcing the rule of law and involving public participation in the war against corruption in society (URT, 1999, p.22).

One of the mechanisms (medium term-plan) set to achieve the country's vision is the Second National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (NSGRP II or MKUKUTA II in Swahili). The recent report about NSGRP II (2010/11–2014/15) has pointed out that although there are still some challenges in poverty reduction strategies, NSGRP I (2005/6–2009/10) has made some notable progress: improved good governance and accountability, public financial management, the judicial system and a strengthened fight against corruption (see URT, 2010a, p.viii). That means NSGRP II has to deal with challenges that still block the way to make Tanzania a middle-income country by 2025. In the area of good governance and accountability, which is considered to play a fundamental role in poverty reduction, the NSGRP II aims at ensuring that the systems and structures of governance uphold the rule of law and are democratic, effective, accountable, predictable, transparent, and corruption-free at all levels (URT, 2010a, p.82-4).

In order to implement such goals, in Tanzania, with its meagre financial capacity like other poor countries, the NSGRP II continues to depend on foreign support (both grants and loans). In this report, the budget framework covered the three clusters of NSGRP II in which good governance and accountability (cluster III) is allocated 10%, while 'growth and reduction of income poverty' (cluster I) are allocated 50% and 'improvement of quality of life and social well-being' (cluster II) have 40% (URT, 2010a, p.120). This and the point noted earlier regarding the lack of proper structures for local accountability in many developing countries coupled with problems of power structure (see Bardhan, 2002), make it still uncertain whether the goals will be achieved, especially that of making a country free from corruption. Such concern was also pointed to in the UN annual report on *Delivery as One in Tanzania* (UNDP, 2011, p.13) that despite the progress in corruption in 2011, corruption in Tanzania has remained a major challenge to equitable development.

Furthermore, the extent to which these governments are prepared with a proper framework on how policy is both formulated and implemented in relation to conditions of good governance, is still a challenge. The *African Peer Review Mechanism Secretariat* (APRMS) (2008, p.18) writing about 'corruption' as one of the emerging governance issues in Africa, found that the most common feature of African countries, Tanzania included, is the absence of comprehensive

national strategies to combat corruption. A number of these countries have ratified the *African Union Convention on Prevention and Combating Corruption* without creating condition for active implementation. Kaufmann *et al.* (2009, p.5) also discovered substantial discrepancies between the laws on the books and the reality that exists on the ground, and that corruption emerged as a major explanation of why the theory or ideal is subverted in practice.

Among other issues, including capacity constraints and poor service delivery, APRMS (2008, p.15) has observed that corruption poses a serious development challenge for Africa. It undermines good governance; reduces accountability and representation in policy-making; erodes rule of law and thereby undermines justice, equal opportunities and equity; and has generated economic distortions in the public sector because of the focus on projects where bribes are more evident. In this situation, the poor majority are the most affected group. It was discovered by APRMS (2008, p.16) that while lower income households spend about 2-3% of their income on bribes, rich households spend less than 0.9% of their income. Therefore, unless the governance system is improved with high levels of transparency, accountability and commitment to local poor people, there will be no poverty reduction with the poor majority remaining poor. This observation has implications in GCP working, which transparency, accountability and commitment of all actors are the dependant components for the achievement of intended goals.

3.4 Partnership working

Partnership working as a concept, is viewed differently depending on the circumstances of the user. Partnership is defined as an arrangement that ‘deliberately’ draws together the resources of specified partners to create a capacity and to act according to a defined set of objectives (Edwards *et al.*, 2000, p.2). The objectives are supposed to be compatible between the partners. In this, Rifkin and Pridmore (2001) argue for the involvement of beneficiaries in the collection and interpretation of information and the decision process. In addition, working in partnership, ‘empowerment’ especially at lower levels, as pointed out earlier, is significant in creating ‘real’ partners.

In some circumstances, the term partnership is used interchangeably with concepts such as co-operation, collaboration, consultation and participation or involvement. Robinson *et al.* (2000) for example, see partnership as a kind of co-operation, a process of consensus-building and sharing in public action. That is, partnership as ‘cooperation’ means working or acting together for mutual benefit (McQuaid, 2000). Both partners being seen as contributing valued resources to the relationship is necessary to avoid the kind of false cooperation that disguises power relations (Ministry of Social Policy, 2000).

For policy makers, when thinking of partnership they use the language of collaboration and cooperation to promote ideas of joined-up working as a means of addressing economic, social and educational disadvantages (Dhillon, 2005). Other terms such as involvement and participation, although sometimes used to mean partnership, are considered weak in comparison. That means ‘partners’ share responsibility for joint activity, whereas ‘participants’ may merely co-operate in somebody else’s activity (Bray, 2000b, p.5).

The popularity of partnership approaches in promoting social, economic and political developmental activities has received widespread support across the world. Unfortunately, the meaning and perhaps the practice of partnership has often been used with more rhetoric than reality, and tends to be ‘overused, ambiguous and politicised’ (Ministry of Social Policy, 2000, p.6). Barnes and Brown (2011), writing about *Partnership in Implementing Millennium Development Goals*, noted the gap between theory and practice resulting from under-theorised and undefined partnerships lacking a broad normative consensus. This is because partnerships involve actors who may differ in purpose, operation or power relations (McQuaid, 2000). In fact, partnerships are formed in the recognition that no single agency has the expertise or resources to tackle the complex, multi-dimensional challenges of governance, administration or implementation, and thus both citizens and agencies need to have a stake in solutions (Carley, 2006, p.250).

In most cases however, due to ‘power inequality’, certain groups in society are somewhat ‘silent’ partners, and their knowledge and awareness is overlooked by the more dominant sets of actors (Slack, 2004). This reflects the point mentioned earlier that local people are persuaded or forced to accept decisions

by the powerful elites (see Choguill, 1996; Ledwith, 2011), for instance those based on the experiences of *Partnership in Urban and Rural Regeneration in the UK* (McQuaid, 2000) where the exercise of power reinforces social relations. He argues that the meaning of partnership is constructed in the context of power and domination where official discourses have privilege over others (McQuaid, 2000, p.12).

In such a relationship it is obvious that local people do not appear as ‘true/real partners’. Real partners, according to Slack (2004, p.143) require the involvement of individuals from an early stage of partnership development, i.e. in input, deciding on the focus of the partnership and continued input into decision-making and implementation. It is obvious that local people possess some knowledge and skills which need to be utilised effectively for the success of projects. In a true partnership, as Barnes and Brown (2011) have argued, the *paternalistic* perspective has no space; local actors should lead their own development while other external actors should back the efforts of local actors to assume greater responsibility. Partnerships based on such a belief have a greater chance of transforming power relationships in a positive and socially just way.

Notwithstanding the importance of partnership working as a mechanism for solving long-lasting socio-economic problems (see Bray, 2000b, 2004; Dhillon, 2005; United States Agency for International Development (USAID), 2007; Zacchaeus, 2007), maintaining partnerships is easier said than done (Bray, 2000b). As Walker (2004) argues, the difficulty of a ‘true partnerships’ lies in the fact that government is a prime funder and regulator. For a partnership to exist, according to Walker, the collaboration between the partners should be voluntary with the agreement to work cooperatively towards shared objectives. This includes shared liability or risk-taking and accountability in the partnered activity.

It is also important to note that sometimes the partners do not necessarily have to be equal in skills, funds or even confidence (Wilcox, 1994). This implies that in some circumstances, partners, like rural communities, are not expected to have equal funds or skills to the government, however, since each partner has something to offer, measures have to be built in to avoid a power imbalance.

What is most important, as explained above, is a collective agreement of goals and a commitment towards achieving the agreed goals.

Despite the difficulties in both theorising and practising partnership, the need for joint efforts in social services provision (for public good, and for the rural poor in particular) is inevitable. McQuaid (2000) points out that the nature of problems facing local communities are multifaceted requiring a combined response from various actors. For example, in the education sectors of most Southern and Eastern African countries, about twenty million children were deprived of quality education (UNO, 2006). Among these children, in Tanzania for example, Rakesh (2003) has noted that the majority belong to rural poor households.

As such, partnership working has been recognised as one of the successful ways of solving local problems. It mobilises resources (human, material and financial) through contribution according to the agreement, willingness and motivation of each of the partners. As McQuaid (2000) asserts, partnership allows a pooling of resources including information and expertise not available in each organisation. The World Conference on Education for All 1990, cited in Bray (2003, p.32), clearly states:

Partnerships at the community level and at the intermediate and national levels should be encouraged; they can help harmonise activities, utilise resources more effectively, and mobilise additional financial and human resources where necessary.

Furthermore, in the process, partnership instils the feelings of ownership among partners, and local people in particular. Bray (2000b) and USAID (2007) in their studies observed that working in partnership becomes the basis of shared experiences, expertise and mutual support in achieving the intended goals. The USAID (2007), which is based in Ethiopia, further learned that the increased sense of community-school ownership increased a long-term community commitment to solving school problems. Such positive feelings/outcomes assure the possibility of project sustainability.

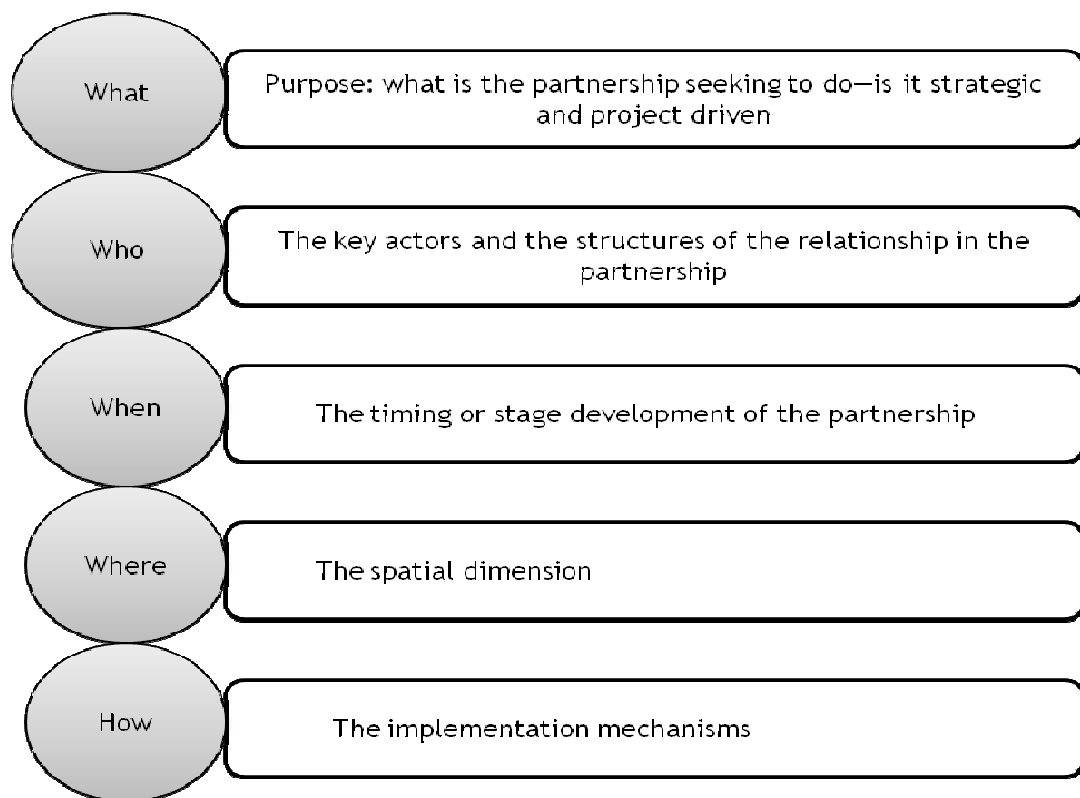
Although gathering resources seems to be the main target of most partnerships, as the USAID (2007) observed, engaging in partnership goes beyond resource

collection. Working in partnership is a wider practice that considers a broad range of aspects necessary for project completion. As Zacchaeus (2007) in *a Comparative Study of Partnership Programmes for Science education in Ghana and South Africa*, found that engaging in a partnership includes issues of mutual aspects, power relations, the nature of dialogue and professionalism. That means partnership is accomplished by, and increases, mutual relationships among partners.

3.4.1 Principles of effective partnership

As pointed out above, partnership is a multifaceted concept which typically encounters various challenges (such as unclear goals, resource costs and unequal power). Such challenges have been the source of failure for partnership working (see McQuaid, 2000; Pinkus, 2005). Therefore, some kind of guidelines or principles, are necessary for effective partnerships. The study adopted five main dimensions as principles for partnership working suggested by McQuaid, as presented in figure 3.4.

Figure 3.4: Principles of effective partnership



Source: created from McQuaid (2000, p.13)

By agreeing on the purpose of engaging in the partnership, misunderstandings, lack of coordination and conflict between partners can be reduced (McQuaid, 2000). In that case, and as Pinkus (2005) observes, the purpose of partnership has to be agreed by all partners. By doing so Pinkus suggests that the chances of confusion about the roles of each partner is minimised. In addition, setting goals by all partners is a key principle of partnership as it prevents some partners from putting forward their 'hidden' agendas deliberately to achieve their own goals without reciprocating the efforts of other partners (McQuaid, 2000, p.22).

It is also important for the partnership to clarify the types of actors involved as well as power relations between them, a crucial element that enables all partners to access information (McQuaid, 2000; Pinkus, 2005). In the study of *Partnership Working in Special Education*, Pinkus (2005) observes unequal power distributions where parents appeared the least empowered partners. That partnership lacked transparency in procedures, which reduced commitment and accountability. Agreement on the implementation strategy, which (among other things) states the contribution expected from each partner, is crucial for effective partnership.

Timing of the partnership process and changing relationships and activities over time is equally important for effective partnership. At this level, McQuaid (2000, p.17) proposes four stages for developing a partnership (figure 3.5). The stages also indicate the managerial task of leaders in terms of power relations, leadership skills and empowerment or capacity building.

Figure 3.5: Main stages of developing a partnership

- I. **Pre-development stage:** the nature of the problem is investigated and the need of a partnership is identified
- II. **Development of strategy:** the formation of some sort of partnership agreement
- III. **The appropriate strategy:** here agreement may be selected along with main projects and implementation mechanisms. Here the partnership and strategy need to be implemented—the most difficult stage in partnership process
- IV. **Ex-post evaluation:** this is a feedback into improving the strategy and partnership. It is helpful when the decision point is reached either to continue, modify or close the partnership

Source: created from McQuaid (2000, p.17)

These stages, according to McQuaid, may overlap, especially in the implementation stage as the experiences of some partners may reinforce or damage the trust of other partners. Therefore, trust between partners needs to be created and working relationships built from the outset of partnership, obviously during objective setting. McQuaid also added that each stage of partnership has different balances of power between actors. This suggests the need to involve all partners from the early stages of developing a partnership. Ideally, effective partnership is one that generates information sharing, improves communication, creates better understanding of what each partner can offer, avoids duplication and inefficiencies, and identifies opportunities for effective sharing of resources (McQuaid, 2010). In addition, and as pointed out above, for such a description of effective partnership to be complete, empowerment and local decision-making is vital.

Above all, trust is at the heart of partnership working where both sides share the same goal. Transparency and accountability in partnerships have to do with the issue of trust (see Bray, 2000a; Dhillon, 2009). Trust is a necessary condition for effective partnership working (Dhillon, 2009, p.697). It underpins successful relationships amongst the individuals and organisations that constitute a partnership. In this case, projects that rely on joint ventures between two or

more actors need not only to ensure trust but also each part has to be trustworthy. This suggests that when partnership is born out of, or created through a positive social capital engagement, it expects positive outcomes.

Furthermore, social aspects (including trust, networks, and shared values amongst the partners) emerge as indispensable conditions for effective partnership working. Dhillon (2005, p.215) refers to these as the 'social glue' that holds the partners together. That means a 'good' social relationship in the partnership serves as capital for success. Generally, however, working in a partnership is a complex and delicate process, where the success depends on the extent to which the agreed framework of action involves both partners and is based on mutual interest and respect.

3.4.2 Partnership working for education provision

Education is recognised as a basis for the economic development of individuals, households, community and the nation (see Nyerere, 1967; World Bank, 1996; Brown, 1991; Omari, 1999; Malale, 2002; UNESCO, 2011b). As such, partnership working for education provision in both quantity and quality is significant. The World Conference on Education for All (WCEFA) put this practice forward about two decades ago, and stated in article seven of the declaration:

National, regional, and local educational authorities have a unique obligation to provide basic education for all, but they cannot be expected to supply every human, financial or organisational requirement for this task. New and revitalised partnerships at all levels will be necessary: partnerships among all sub-sectors and forms of education; partnerships between education and other government departments, including planning, finance, labour, communications, and other social sectors; partnerships between government and non-governmental organisations, private sector, local communities, religious groups, and families (WCEFA, 1990, p.76)

The WCEFA maintains that partnership is the heart of an expanded vision and a renewed commitment to education provision. This calls for a genuine-partnership that adheres to the principles of effective partnership.

Half a decade after WCEFA, another conference was organised in Amman (Jordan) to review the 1990 Jomtien conference. Among other things, the

conference insisted on working in partnerships for education provision. The International Consultative Forum (ICF) reports:

Education is not the business of governments alone, but should be the concern of all sectors of society, including non-governmental organisations, religious groups, business sector, media, donor agencies, local communities, and parents. As governments seek ways to decentralise responsibility for education, equalise educational opportunities, and raise more funds, they need strong and innovative allies. Active partnerships have been one of the most successful outcomes since Jomtien (ICF, 1996, p.26)

In addition, another EFA summit of leaders in the nine high-population countries came with a Delhi Declaration, emphasising education as a societal responsibility. One of the statements in the preamble (clause 2.8) reads:

Education is, and must be, a societal responsibility, encompassing governments, families, communities and non-governmental organisations; it requires the commitment and participation of all, in a grand alliance that transcends diverse opinions and political positions (UNESCO, 1994, p.6)

Therefore, partnership working for education provision became a ‘persistent theme’ (Bray, 2000b). This theme is admirable because its practice has a capacity to not only widen and increase participation but also to develop cross-cutting linkages between layers of government, organisations, agencies, communities and other stakeholders (Dhillon, 2009). In that regard, partnership working as one of the poverty reduction strategies through which education becomes an inevitable practice, particularly in less-developed countries.

In Tanzania for example, the Education Sector Development Programme (ESDP) adopted in 1996, applied a sector-wide approach covering all education sub-sectors (URT, 2001a). The priority of ESDP is to solicit resource allocation consistent with the macro reform policies including the Tanzania Development Vision 2025, the Public Financial Reform Programme and the Local Government Reform Programme. Galabawa (2001) describes this action as a ‘holistic approach’ to education provision. In the mid-1990s social services activities were decentralised where public sectors collaboratively worked to organise donor assistance strategy to education provision (Oketch and Rolleston, 2007). In this

collaboration, ordinary people are involved to offer their contribution for the development of education within their areas.

This study examines the nature and experiences of partnership between the government and rural communities. These communities, as Bray (2000b) suggests, operate in diverse settings with multiple partnerships characterised by diversity of perspectives. By government, we refer to the central government, which is the chief provider of social services where decisions are made, policies are adopted and projects are developed. In most cases however, government and community enter into a partnership focusing on gaining access to each other's resources. Since the government is the most powerful organ, some communities have found themselves in a dilemma: they prefer not to engage in any partnerships, fearing to lose power and control, while at the same time they need access to technical expertise on how to organise, plan and manage their activities (Bray, 2000b). In such circumstances, a partnership remains an important practice, as no part is complete by itself in dealing with complex development activities.

So far, partnership working between government and community has demonstrated significant results of resource contributions for education provision (see Bray, 2000b; Zacchaeus, 2007; United States Agency for International Development (USAID), 2007). Other studies have focused on private-public partnerships (PPP) (see Rwiza, 2004; Nordtveit, 2005; Sedisa, 2008). The PPP studies have demonstrated success in transforming the teaching and learning environment in schools due to the capacity of private sectors to acquire resources to supplement those of public sectors. For example, Sedisa (2008) discovered that, through PPP in Botswana new secondary schools were built, facilities purchased and the existing schools transformed.

However, some of the PPP have not worked as expected. Because private providers are business-oriented and focused on profit making, they are affected by the market-economy system and are corrupted by the political situation (Nordtveit, 2005). In this situation, Nordtveit found that the PPP did not improve literacy education among women in Senegal as expected. We might agree with Nordtveit arguing for PPP to adopt a balanced distribution of responsibilities between the partners. In other words, the partnership did not consider the

principles of engaging in partnership described in section 3.4.1. Similarly, Rwiza (2004) based in Tanzania, observes a weak coordination of activities and resources because the PPP lacked clear guidelines for effective partnership.

3.5 Conclusion

The literature reviewed in this chapter demonstrates the fact that partnership working may be the best solution for educational development of the rural majority. This is apparent in what is associated with the educated person in terms of a better future life based on the assurance of being able to compete in the labour market. However, as the literature shows, this has been the case only of the urban-bureaucratic and the well-to-do households, as they can access quality education.

Despite of relevance of partnership, its interpretation and practices have not yet shown a straightforward understanding among the actors, mainly because of the dominant elite and the power structures at both top and lower levels which are determined by the prevailing political-ideology. While the partnership and participatory movements have encouraged the involvement of communities, the poverty level in rural communities has never been reduced (see URT, 2009c), which implies that there has been little impact of education provision on community development process.

Indeed, many of the reviews about partnership working and community participation have been less explicit about the nature of GCP working in terms of real or genuine participation of people, for example, in the making of important decisions and implementation procedures for community development activities.

Chapter 4

Theoretical Framework

4.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the theoretical framework that guides the study. This is based on two related social theories: social network and social capital. The purpose of this chapter is to present the framework and explain how the theories will be drawn on to investigate the nature of government-community partnership (GCP) in Tanzanian rural communities.

The chapter is divided into four sections. It begins with the rationale behind the choice of using theories of social networks and social capital to study GCP (section 4.2). This section also draws attention to how the two theories together are used as a framework to explain the patterns of relationships within GCP. It also provides two selected theories (activity theory and social class theory), as examples to justify the choice of framework. Section 4.3 provides a detailed analysis of social network theory. In this section, the complex nature of network ties are discussed showing how the ties actors have in a network may provide opportunities for access or constrain their access to resources necessary for education provision. In this regard, both strong and weak ties are considered significant for collective development activities. Section 4.4 embarks on social capital theory within which the three forms of social capital (bonding, bridging and linking) are examined. The effectiveness of these forms in collective working relies heavily on the nature of network ties actors have in society.

4.2 Social networks and social capital theories in GCP rural context: the rationale

Theories of social networks and social capital, when used together, provide a suitable framework for analysing the nature of GCP in the provision of education in rural communities (see figure 4.1 for a GCP framework offered by the two theories). The two theories may lead researchers to a successful examination of social phenomena in real settings because of their ability to represent the behaviours of actors involved in social activities (such as GCP) (see Adler and

Kwon, 2002; Prell, 2003; Moody and Paxton, 2009; Jiang and Carroll, 2009). The focus of GCP for rural community development, as discussed in section 2.2.1 is not only because of the high level of poverty in rural communities, but also because these communities are characterised by being more cohesive with a stronger social bond, networks and collective identity that help people to live and work together (see Delanty, 2003; Beard and Dasgupta, 2006).

The two theories are not only related, but also the effectiveness of social capital relies much on the creation of a genuine networking structure in the community upon which the nature of network ties play key roles. That means the existence of well-maintained aspects of social networks may lead to positive results for social capital (Coleman, 1990). This context makes social network theory (SNT) a process or tool, a means to an end, and social capital an end, a product of social interactions among actors in a community. Robert Putnam, one of the social capital pioneers in modern societies, pointed out the central importance of social networks for social capital where networks provide a basis of social cohesion by enabling people to cooperate with one another (Putnam, 2000). This is to say, networks or social ties (as basic elements for social interactions resulting from shared norms, values, mutual relationships and trust) are a major source of social capital.

Dale and Newman (2010) in their study on *Sustainable Development in Canada and Australia*, found that social capital is a necessary condition for sustainable development, especially when the networks are based on the cooperation and partnership of various stakeholders both locally and globally. The most important aspect of investing in social capital is that it consists of resources (information, knowledge, wealth, or power) embedded in social relations and social structures (Daly, 2010a). These resources can be mobilised, accessed and used by actors involved in social activities. In addition, The quality and nature of social ties, and the social relations or networks that actors have with others, as Daly (2010a, p.4) emphasises, may support or constrain opportunities for access to resources.

The above description highlights the value of SNT in building social capital, and particularly in studying GCP working relationships. Among the benefits of SNT for researchers, as Daly (2010b, p.260) reinforces, is its ability to provide a

framework for understanding individuals' or organisations' outcomes that are based on their position in the networks and the structure of a social system. For example, Borgatti and Ofem (2010) distinguished the traditional social science approaches from SNT in the way the performance of an organisation or individual achievement is explained. They found that while the former focuses on characteristics or attributes, network theorists would not only examine the attributes of the actors, but also the relationships that constrain their choices and actions and provide opportunities for achievement (Borgatti and Ofem, 2010, p.18). From a network perspective, relationships between actors are the central focus, and the idea of 'networks' is a fundamental distinctive feature.

Furthermore, the uniqueness of this theory is that it does not only consider the patterns of relationships that exist between actors in society, but also the actions in which these actors are engaging. As Schuller *et al.* (2000) point out, actors and actions in social networks are viewed as interdependent rather than dependent components (see also Carolan, 2014, p.4).

In addition to that, it is also important to note the controversial aspect in the use of SNT as research analysis, whether it is both quantitative and qualitative or purely quantitative. Carolan (2014) has noted that contemporary social networks rely much on linear algebra and matrix manipulation, because of the use of computer software and mathematical models, which is one of the features that distinguish social network studies from others in explaining social life. This has raised some questions about whether social network analysis is more suitable for quantitative rather than qualitative data. Other scholars have argued that both qualitative and quantitative modes of research have been used from the outset of social network analysis (see Borgatti and Ofem, 2010; Marin and Wellman, 2011; Carolan, 2014). In fact, the earliest social network analysis (the study of a Norwegian fishing crew by Barnes (1954), according to Marin and Wellman (2011, p.22) used a qualitative approach offering evidence that social network analysis is not exclusively quantitative (Carolan, 2014, p.36).

The use of quantitative analysis by most of researchers focuses on the needs of their studies which require them to collect network data and use specific software (like UCINET - a social network analysis software tool) for the visual representation of data (in graphs, tables, lines or chats) (see Moolenaar and

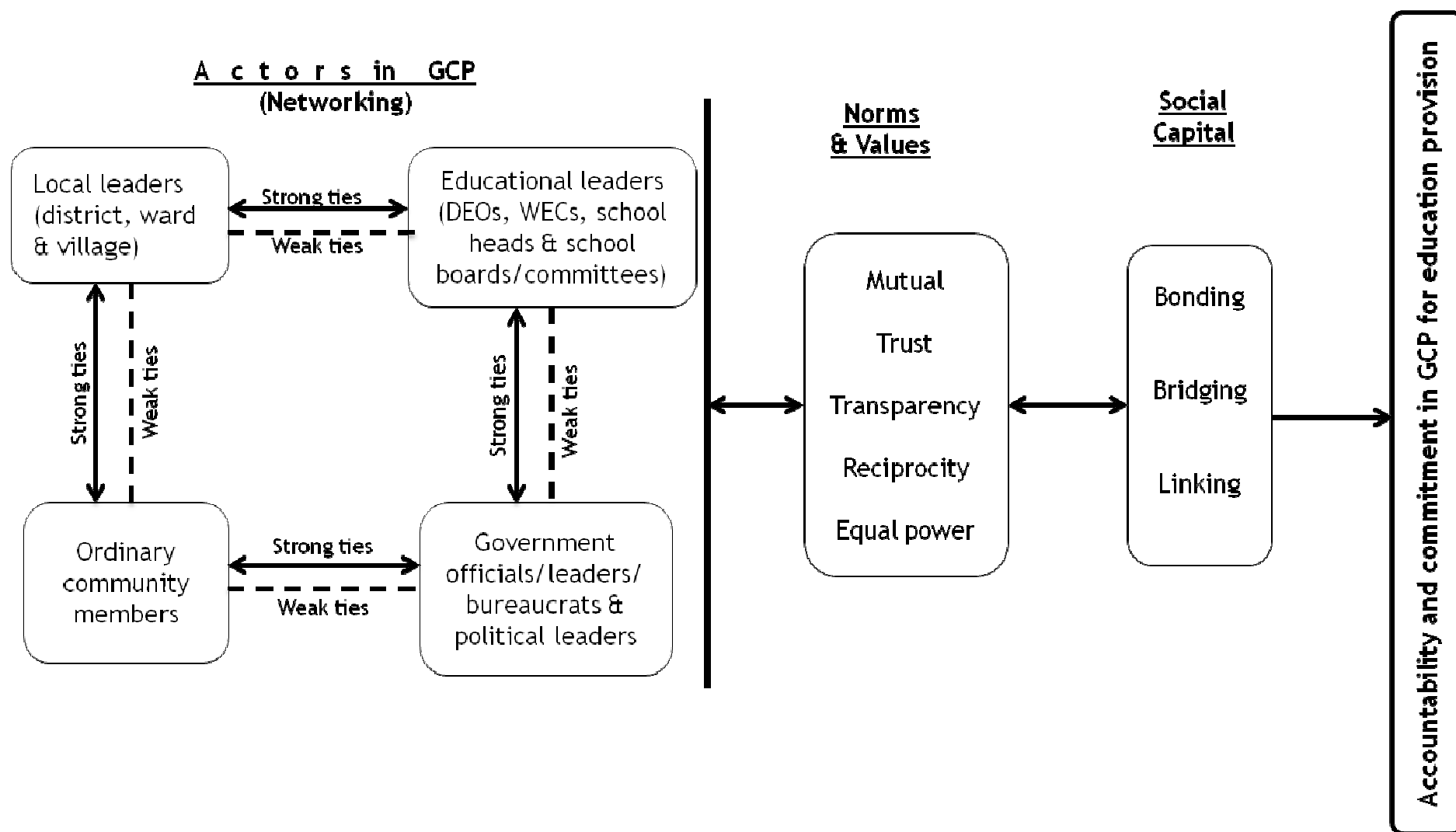
Sleegers, 2010; Atteberry and Bryk, 2010; Hite *et al.*, 2010; Daly and Finnigan, 2010; Downey, 2013). The setting of questions for gathering network data, which needs careful structure (Downey, 2013), focuses on measuring social interactions and the degree of reciprocation. Examples of questions are: *Who do you report to for information? Whom do you consider a friend? Rate every person you communicate regarding work*, etc. However, the preparation and dealing with network data, Marin and Wellman (2011, p.21) argue, it is a burdensome task, time-consuming and sometimes people misapprehend relations of other actors due to differences in interpretation of 'relations'.

The current study of GCP differs from the above studies for two main reasons. *First*, the focus of the study (to understand the experiences of GCP from the actors' perspectives) determined the initial setting of the study design, in which the use of a qualitative multiple-case study approach to gather data in a real-life context of natural settings was thought appropriate (Yin, 2003a). This approach also required the use of multiple-sources of evidence (semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions, non-participant observation and documents) where open-ended questions were set to allow freedom of expression to gather in-depth data from two rural districts (chapter 5 provides details of methodology). Therefore, this study did not collect network data, but instead key elements from SNT and social capital including connections, social and network ties (strong and weak), mutual trust and reciprocity, and three forms of social capital (bonding, bridging and linking) were used to explain and understand the practice of GCP.

Secondly, as noted earlier, GCP is a complex social phenomenon with a diversity of actors who have varied interests in partnership. Setting questions about relations in such a context, asking community members (e.g., in focus group discussion) whether they '*like their village leader*', would not address the focus of the study but rather is the possibility of initiating conflicts among the actors. In addition, most studies that used social network or social capital theories (as pointed above) were conducted in America and the United Kingdom. This is missing in an African context and in rural Tanzanian communities, in particular where social interaction is valued for the common good.

Therefore, the theoretical framework for this study, as presented in figure 4.1 below comprises the key elements of SNT and social capital, as well as other important aspects of partnership working and community development discussed in chapter 3. They include power structure, trust and transparency, patterns of participation, community development models, and principles of partnership. Moreover, note that partnership working, SNT and social capital make a similar assumption, particularly about the social aspects of *mutual trust* and *power relations* between actors. As such, the clarity and purpose of engaging in social relationships becomes central to reinforcing accountability and commitment in GCP working relationships.

Figure 4.1: GCP networking framework for rural community development



Generally, figure 4.1 above represents a GCP networking framework. It assumes that when actors in a GCP network structure are well connected with both strong and weak network ties flowing between them and they share some collective norms and values (mutual trust, transparency, reciprocity and equal power), they can build various forms of social capital and collectively provide relevant and quality education to rural communities.

Having discussed in detail the rationale for choosing social network and social capital to offer a theoretical framework for this study and explained how such framework will be employed, it is important to provide a detailed explanation about the two theories. The purpose is to explain the meaning and practice of the theories in general, while discussing the selected key elements presented in figure 4.1. First, a review of the literature on SNT is presented.

4.3 Social network theory

The study of social networks in modern societies can be traced back to the 1930s in the theories developed by a German sociologist, Georg Simmel (1908 [1971]). Simmel sees society as a web of relations, and that society exists because of interactions. Simmel's ideas have influenced many researchers interested in the nature of social structures. For example, Jacob Moreno in 1934 conducted a small-scale project on students' interaction in classroom settings. He used *sociograms* and *sociometric* tools to represent social networks using 'points and lines'¹⁴ (see Scott, 1988, 2000; Borgatti and Ofem, 2010; Scott and Carrington, 2011). Moreover, in the 1950s, a social anthropologist, John Barnes invented the term 'social network' in community settings by associating nets used for fishing with the structure of the community in a study of a Norwegian fishing village (Scott, 1988; Marin and Wellman, 2011). Since then, and especially from the 1980s to date, social network analysis has become an established field in social sciences (see Borgatti and Ofem, 2010, p.17).

¹⁴ Social network analysis is a branch of mathematics called Graph Theory composed of 'points and lines'. i.e., the points represent individuals and other social actors such as groups or organisations, and lines represent their social relations. Points and lines are presented using sociograms and sociometric. Note that sociograms are used in small-scale networks with few network data. For networks that contain more than 20 points, which is a large-scale social network data, sociomatrix is used to avoid inaccurate drawings from sociograms. Sociomatrix (which use matrix algebra) contains the same information as the corresponding sociograms, taking the rows and columns as its points and the content of the cells as the presence or absence of lines between pairs of points (Scott and Carrington, 2011:4).

Social network theory (SNT), as Kadushin (2012, p.12) pointed out, is one of the few theories in social science that can be applied to a variety of levels of analysis from small-scale groups to entire global systems. The core concern of social network analysts is to understand how social structures facilitate or constrain opportunities (Tindall and Wellman, 2001). Social structure in social network perspective, as Tindall and Wellman (2001, p.266) reinforce, is conceived as a set of nodes (actors) and a set of ties (relationships) connecting pairs of these actors. In social structures, actors represent different social units (discrete individual or collective) such as students, parents, groups, organisations, community or nations (see Tindall and Wellman, 2001; Carolan, 2014). The use of the term actor(s) in social structure, as Carolan (2014, p.5) emphasises, connotes the role that social units play in a large social system.

Ties, on the other hand, play the role of connecting actors to one another. Such connections, as Tindall and Wellman (2001) claim, refer to flows of resources that reflect relations of control, dependence and cooperation among actors. These ties, according to Daly (2010b, p.259), represent a complex system of opportunities and constraints since the ties an actor has in a network determine that actor's access to resources (information, wealth, power or knowledge). Generally, a social network is a set of individuals or groups (actors) who are connected to one another through socially meaningful relationships based on *trust* and *mutual* sharing of information (Prell, 2003). By maintaining connections and relationships between actors, Field (2003, p.1) reinforces, it facilitates their working together and achieving things they could only achieve alone with great difficulty.

How patterns of relationships or ties facilitate or constrain the channelling of resources to specific locations in social structures is critical in understanding the larger network in GCP working. Although Daly (2010a) emphasises the necessity of actors being aware of the assets in their networks and thus take action through social ties to access resources, the key challenge might remain in the *power structure* that exists between the actors involved in social activity (GCP). Power, as Castells (2011, p.774) noted, is constructed around multidimensional networks programmed in each domain of human activity in relation to the interests and values of empowered actors. As explained in chapter 3, the power structure (whoever holds real power) determines who controls resources. That

is, each network in a social structure, Castells claims, defines its own power relationships. For Kadushin (2012), in social networks where *mutuality* and *reciprocity* is vivid, the *power relations* in the relationships is of little or no consequence because of the shared values, norms, beliefs and interests.

Networks or connections between actors in this case, provide a basis for wider social cohesion, enabling them to cooperate with one another for the mutual advantage of their lives. However, for productive mutual advantage, in social networks, actors and actions should be viewed as interdependent components (Carolan, 2014). Most significant in relationships is the authenticity of mutuality among actors and the extent to which relations are reciprocal, the act Kadushin (2012) said involves the actions of ‘give-and-take’ between actors. Again, the importance of *equal power* relations to reinforce reciprocity in collective work was noted by Molm *et al.* (2007) in their study about *Building Solidarity through the Theory of Reciprocity*. They found that actors under equal power relations are less likely to experience giving to another while receiving nothing in return than actors in unequal power relations (Molm *et al.*, 2007, p.215). Here Molm and colleagues noted that when actors are engaged in a reciprocal exchange with equal power relations, they develop stronger bonds of affect, unity and commitment.

Furthermore, Warner (2001), insisting on the significant role of reciprocity in building social capital, warned that if reciprocity is weak, there is less likelihood of making investments for social capital at community level. It is important for both actors involved in partnership to be responsive in ensuring the returns of any investments for community social capital. As Putnam (2000) suggests, where connections exist, there is a profit invested by actors with the expectation of decent return from the investment. The invested capital may become an economic prosperity resulting from existing positive networks of relationships among people. In other words, such capital is a result of reciprocated actions. In this, Bourdieu (1985) has advised that to build and maintain networks, it requires investments to yield a significant return.

Kadushin (2012, p.17) has categorised connections and ties in networks in three types: *first*, the egocentric networks (the simplest level of networks that consist of a single actor (ego) who has direct relations with other actors) (see also

Carolan, 2014). *Secondly*, in socio-centric networks, as Kadushin asserts, ties are based on a closed system network. Ávila de Lima (2010) calls this kind of network ‘*whole network*’ whereby researchers collect information from all actors in a bounded population. Ávila de Lima (2010, p.244-5) also added that while egocentric networks allows researchers to collect information from a large-scale survey, in socio-centric there is no expectation that actors will know a great deal about other members of networks, and that this kind of network suffers from the strict data requirements that make it difficult to be applied to large-scale networks.

Thirdly, the open-system networks: according to Kadushin (2012) these are the most interesting networks since the boundaries of connections and ties are not necessarily clear. In an open-system, networks are open structures with no limits to expansion to incorporate new actors. As Castells (2010, p.501) reinforces:

Networks are open structures, able to expand without limits, integrating new nodes as long as they are able to communicate within the network and share the same communication nodes including values and performance goals.

Castells adds that a network-based social structure is highly dynamic and susceptible to innovation without threatening its balance. In modern societies, such characteristics are obvious due to the advancement of information and technology in global networks, which Castells refers to as the ‘information age’. Since modern societies are growing fast, with an increase in complexity and diversity of actors because of differences in interests, power relations or purpose of engaging in collective activities, network structures must define clearly the nature of ties involved.

Ties between actors consist of multiple layers with complex relationships referred to as ‘multiplex’ (see Bienzle *et al.*, 2007; Kadushin, 2012). The relationships in the networks become more complex as the membership increases from two actors (dyads) to three or more (triads) (Kadushin, 2012). In this regard, the increase of ties in networks, Bienzle *et al.* (2007) claim, serves the purpose of information exchange, resource acquisition, solidarity and support amongst the actors. GCP is among the social phenomena which not only has more than three actors (triads), but also consists of a diversity of actors

from the top levels of government to the very lowest levels in villages (see section 5.4.2, chapter 5). In addition, although the study focuses on how GCP is practised in rural communities, with the advancement of information and technology in contemporary society, the expansion of networks with newcomers (see chapter 6) is inevitable. Therefore, defining the nature of ties would reduce complexity in partnership working.

4.3.1 Strong and weak ties in network structures

Ties in network structures range from strong to weak (Granovetter, 1973; Bienzle *et al.*, 2007; Kadushin, 2012). Strong ties include close friends or family members in networks, and are strong to the extent that all members know each other. In network terms, strong ties are also known as ‘redundant ties’ (Burt, 1992; Bienzle *et al.*, 2007). According to Burt (1992, p.18), ties are redundant when they are connected by a strong relationship. Here actors are directly connected with each other. This type of ties (strong/redundant), as Warner (2001) suggests, are important in ensuring community involvement while producing an egalitarian social structure. In GCP working, these ties are vital in building ‘bonding social capital’ and facilitate the mobilisation of people’s participation in community development activities. Social capital is described in the section that follows.

Weak ties on the other hand, or what Burt (1992) calls non-redundant ties or contacts, as advocated by Granovetter (1973), are a more diversified set of networks. Non-redundant ties, according to Burt (1992, p.18), are connected by ‘structural holes’. Burt writes about ‘structural holes’ and defines them as a relationship of non-redundancy between two contacts where their relations are invisible. That means non-redundant ties are disconnected in a sense that one actor has no direct contact with another or the existing contacts exclude other actors. The hole between the two contacts provides network benefits that are more additive than overlapping. Even though the number of structural holes may increase with the network size, Burt (1992, p.20) maintains that holes are the key to information benefits for efficiency and effectiveness.

The theory of structural holes contributes to the significance of weak ties (Bienzle *et al.*, 2007). Weak ties, as Burt (1992, p.20) asserts, integrate the

disconnected social clusters into a broader society. This simplifies the gaining of information which benefits the majority in society. Warner (2001) notes that weak (bridging) ties are important in exchanging information and facilitating system change including access to resources and policy change within a community. Weak ties, therefore, help to broaden the scope in heterogeneous networks. In this context, weak ties facilitate the building of 'bridging and linking social capital' (see section 4.4.1 below), which are fundamental for actors' opportunities (especially local poor people) to access the available resources necessary for their development.

Granovetter (1973), in the theory of weak ties, claims that a weakly cohesive group has a special role in an individual's opportunity for social mobility such as job hunting. Granovetter studied *job hunting* among youths and found that a large number of jobs were gained based on informal contacts (through weak ties or holes), where the job seekers acquired information that led them to new jobs. Also Daly (2010a) writing on *Social Network Theory and Educational Change*, reinforces the significance of attending both formal and informal structures that exist in social systems. According to Daly (2010a, p.3), informal networks, as webs of relationships, are the chief determinants of change.

Notwithstanding the crucial role of informal relations in bridging social ties (see also Pichler and Wallace, 2007), at a community level Warner (2001) has argued for the linkage of both ties for effective community development: strong (horizontal) ties, which strengthen the local actors' networks, and weak (bridging) ties, which allow local actors access to outside resources. The current study of GCP, as pointed out earlier consists of a diverse group of actors including government officials and bureaucrats, local leaders and ordinary local people. Based on the above explanation of ties, it is assumed that if network ties between GCP actors are strong, it is possible to achieve collective development, and if the doors are open for ordinary local people to practise weak ties or holes in social structures, there might be an opportunity for them to access resources, build social capital and challenge the system to improve policies and practices.

4.4 Social capital theory

The term 'social capital' was first used to refer to the public infrastructure of a nation in the 1950s, i.e., the industrial component of capital (Dube *et al.* (1957) cited in Schuller *et al.* (2000, p.2). However, formal conceptualisation of social capital in terms of social behaviours, collective actions and social systems was developed between the late 1970s and 1990s (Jiang and Carroll, 2009, p.52). The significant observation at this time was the realisation of non-economic resources and the ability of social systems to facilitate social actions. In this context, as Jiang and Carroll (2009) explain, social capital is a socially constructed term built upon social exchange that has been developed from social ties existing in social structures. In other words, unlike other forms of capital such as economic capital which is in people's bank accounts, or human capital which is inside people's heads, social capital is inherent in the structure of people's relationships (Portes, 1998, p.7).

Robert Putnam, who made an important contribution to the social capital debate at community level, highlighted the productive aspects of social capital, arguing that they help to improve the efficiency of society by facilitating the coordination of social actions (Putnam, 1993). He defined social capital as social or community cohesion resulting from the existence of local horizontal community networks in the voluntary sector, personal spheres, and the density of networking between these spheres (Putnam, 1993, p.163). Putnam further enriched social capital theory with three facets: a high level of (civic) participation in local networks; a positive local identity and a sense of solidarity and equality; and norms of trust, reciprocal help, support and cooperation. Such facets act as social assets, which are also relevant in political education and the community development process. In other words, networks create social capital for community development (Putnam, 2000).

Field (2005), writing about *Social Capital and Lifelong Learning*, reinforces the notion that social capital theory centres on the proposition that people's social networks are a valuable asset. This reflects Pierre Bourdieu's perspective of this form of capital. He sees social capital as a network of ties emerging as the end-result of long-term investment decisions of the potential resources, which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised

relationships of mutual recognition (Bourdieu, 1985). As explained earlier, social capital consists of resources embedded in social relations and social structures. It is a kind of an investment for actors to mobilise, access and use resources in social activities (Daly, 2010a). However, the nature of network ties that actors have in social structures (and perhaps the power relations between them) may both provide actors with opportunities for resources, and constrain access to them (see Daly, 2010b; Carolan, 2014).

Another important figure in the development of social capital theory is James Coleman. His perspectives on social capital are based on the belief that social capital is linked to the structure of ties and that the productive aspects are context-specific. He claims that social capital represents resources with the expectation of reciprocity, which goes beyond individuals to involve wider networks whose relationships are governed by a high degree of trust and shared values (Coleman, 1990). The generated resources resulting from social capital, as Coleman suggests, benefit all actors who are part of the social structure and for this reason, they constitute an essential part of the 'public good'. Thus, social capital in this sense is incompatible with high levels of inequality and instead, it complements egalitarian perspectives (Putnam, 2000; Schuller *et al.*, 2000).

As also noted in SNT, *trust* and *reciprocity* in social capital have emerged as critical components that reinforce social cohesion. As Prell (2003) pointed out, social capital is composed of cohesive networks in which actors are connected with one another and where trust and reciprocity reside. People's networks in this context, should be seen as part of the wider set of social relationships and norms that allow them to pursue their goals to bind society together. However, despite the significance of social capital, it has limited relational capacity for actors and, as such, social contacts must be developed and maintained (Bienzle *et al.*, 2007). Here Coleman (1990, p.321) emphasises the frequent renewal of social capital to sustain its value; that social relations need to be maintained because expectations and obligations wither over time and norms depend on regular interactions.

This is important for the current study of GCP where the achievement of common goals depends on the spirit of collective working in which its status is

doubtful. The degree of trust and reciprocal relationships matter in this respect where effective GCP working depends on the nature of transparency and accountability with trust as a key condition to strengthen and maintain genuine networking and social capital (Bray, 2000a; Dhillon, 2005, 2009). Indeed, trust in partnership working, as Dhillon (2005, p.215) points out, acts as ‘social glue’ that holds actors together and thereby assures transparency and accountability. For effectiveness and sustainability in partnership working, both the quantity of contacts in a network and the quality of such connections in terms of power and trustworthiness of the actors involved are vital components (Dhillon, 2009). The next section presents three forms of social capital.

4.4.1 Forms of social capital

Network ties in social capital are presented in three forms: bonding, bridging and linking (Putnam, 2000). *Firstly*, bonding social capital is exclusionary and tied to strong social network ties (see Putnam, 2000; Pichler and Wallace, 2007). Here people are connected with shared demographic characteristics, which maintain the homogeneity (Dahal and Adhikari, 2008). Bonding social capital is good for reinforcing reciprocity and mobilising solidarity, while serving as sociological superglue (see Putnam, 2000; Schuller *et al.*, 2000; Field, 2003). As the connections among individuals are confined to their shared demographic characteristics, bonding social capital reinforces collective action (Dahal and Adhikari, 2008) and helps the poor to gain the influence to get by, although it blocks them in getting ahead (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000).

Secondly, bridging social capital refers to the building of connections between heterogeneous groups (see Putnam, 2000; Schuller *et al.*, 2000; Dahal and Adhikari, 2008). Bridging social capital brings together people across diverse social divisions (Field, 2003) which makes it inclusive and open (Putnam, 2000). This form of social capital is facilitated by the existence of weak ties (Granovetter, 1973) or non-redundant ties (Burt, 1992) (see section 4.3.1). According to Burt, these ties are vital in connecting the disconnected social clusters. Putnam points out that the connections in bridging social capital are good for linkage to external assets and for information diffusion that can generate broader identities and reciprocity (2000, p.22-23). However, due to hegemonic power of the dominant class in society, improving the extent to

which the poor are provided opportunity to increase their stock of bridging social capital is a challenging task in partnership working such as GCP (Mathie and Cunningham, 2003). Bridging social capital is important for external network relations especially in modern communities where the expansion of social structures is not limited (Castells, 2010). Jiang and Carroll (2009) have maintained that bridging social capital increases the externality of resources outside the target community. This is where networks become a vital means of bridging barriers for sustainable community development (Dale and Newman, 2010).

Thirdly, linking social capital, on the other hand, pertains to connections with people in power, whether in politically or financially influential positions (see Woolcock and Sweetser (2002) cited in Dahal and Adhikari, 2008, p.11). Linking social capital or vertical ties as Dale and Newman (2010) call it, links people to power and decision-making authority such as government. This kind of social capital is relevant in examining the nature of power relations in GCP, as it brings together different social groups from different layers of society (Pichler and Wallace, 2007). Therefore, how the powerful individuals and groups (actors) utilise their positions (both politically and financially) for the common good has an impact on practising GCP. This is because networks and social capital can be used negatively to corrupt local actors and benefit the powerful, especially when bonding social capital between them is very high. Woolcock and Narayan (2000) have pointed out that governments that uphold the rule of law, honour contracts and resist corruption tend to reduce this negative effect on community development projects. This indicates what Mathie and Cunningham (2003, p.480) suggest, that social assets can only be capitalised upon in an environment that shares similar expectations based on trust and reciprocity.

4.5 Conclusion

To conclude, as the GCP networking framework presented in figure 4.1 shows, the well-maintained aspects of social networks where all actors in a GCP work together through active and genuine participation, provide the conditions for the building of productive social capital. So far, the chapter has explained clearly (in section 4.2) the rationale of combining SNT and social capital in explaining GCP, as well as the strengths of using the two theories together in that they lead to

effective collective community development. Here it means that collective social capital cannot be built without having both strong and weak network ties among the GCP actors. However, the main challenge that remains uncovered by this theoretical framework is how to deal with the influence of external forces based on the neoliberal perspectives of the free-market economy, which reinforces individualistic instincts.

Chapters 6, 7, 8 and 9, that follow the next chapter on research methodology (5), present, analyse and discuss the findings of this study through the lens of the theoretical framework. In this process, the chapters are expected to show the extent to which the proposed theoretical framework has helped to explain GCP working for education provision in the context of rural Tanzania. The chapters are also expected to explore the existing network ties, especially those created for collective purposes, as well as whether these networks and the GCP have produced social capital for collective development activities.

Chapter 5

Research Methodology

5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses methodological issues employed in the study. Firstly, it introduces the research design and explains the rationale for adopting a qualitative approach through a multiple case-study research. Secondly, it outlines the instruments used to gather information (semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions, non-participant observation, and documents) and discusses how and why they were selected and used in the study. The chapter then describes the sampling procedures, explains how the participants in the study were selected and issues related to anonymity and confidentiality. Then follows an explanation of why the research settings (cases) were selected as appropriate for the study. The next section gives a description concerning piloting the study. The chapter goes on to explain how data were managed and procedures used for analysis. After this, there is a discussion on how ‘validity and reliability’ were achieved – in qualitative research these are referred to as dependability and transferability of findings. Finally, ethical issues to which the study complied are described.

5.2 Research design

In social sciences, there are two main traditional approaches to viewing the social world in search of reality. These are quantitative and qualitative approaches. They have significant variations depending on the theoretical orientation of the framework that guides them in searching for reality (Sarantakos, 1998). Quantitative research (which is associated with *positivism*¹⁵) tends to favour the idea that reality must be measured by the ‘right’ research instruments and that the objective facts can only be understood and mastered by statistics and experiments. In contrast, qualitative research maintains that realities can only be superficially touched on by research and that the role of the researcher is to try to make sense through interpretation: to explore,

¹⁵ Positivism is a methodological approach for understanding phenomena based on a position that for a method to be considered genuinely scientific it must be amenable to observation and measurement (Bryman, 2004).

elucidate and then interpret bits of reality (Holliday, 2007). In other words, the social world is seen from the point of view of the actors, where reality is subjective, socially constructed and facts and values are inextricably linked (Bryman, 1984; Wellington and Szczerbinski, 2007).

Currently, mixing quantitative and qualitative approaches has become popular in research. In some cases, this has added a third approach to research, referred to as mixed-methods research. The main idea is triangulation and complementarity between research approaches (Bryman, 2004). However, some ideas are not necessarily shared between approaches so triangulation of this kind may not function well. A possibility which is, however, highly recommended, is that of triangulating or complementing data within one approach. This is when the data to address the same phenomenon is investigated using two or more research methods, tools, or strategies (Scott and Morrison, 2006). Besides, Bryman (2007) has discovered that researchers who claim to use mixed-methods end up reporting or basing their findings on one of them.

It should be noted, however, that the choice of approach for studying the social world depends on the nature of the social problem or phenomenon under study and thus the researcher's primary concern becomes the central base (Wellington and Szczerbinski, 2007). That means if the concern is to explain and predict, then a choice of quantitatively oriented methods may be appropriate. However, if the researcher wants to understand the experiences of phenomena from the actors' perspectives, a qualitative approach must be applied. The present study adopted a qualitative approach to explore the nature of government-community partnership (GCP) in the provision of education for rural communities in Tanzania, where participants' perspectives and understanding of the phenomenon was significant.

5.2.1 Qualitative approach

The choice of a qualitative approach for this study is based on the three main reasons. Firstly, a qualitative approach is determined by the objectives of the research under study (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998). In this study, the central aim is to examine the effects of GCP on educational opportunities from the perspectives of rural communities. These include the perspectives of ordinary

people (community members), educational officials, government officials, bureaucrats and other leaders (Village, Ward, District, and Region levels). Therefore, the perceptions, feelings and experiences of those who participate were valued as worthy of exploration. Ritchie (2003) notes that qualitative research methods allow further exploration of the practice of such partnerships. The notion of giving a voice to participants and considering their experiences of the social context under which the phenomenon is studied, is one of the fundamental characteristics of qualitative research (Flick, 1998).

Secondly, a qualitative approach was chosen because it offers the possibility of a thorough description and richer explanation of complex problems. The study of GCP, which is diverse in nature in terms of participants involved as well as the type of data needed for the study, is a complex subject (see Ritchie, 2003). In other words, such an elusive social phenomenon has to be studied in all its complexity, in the everyday context (Flick, 1998). Therefore, there was a need for an appropriate and carefully framed questioning procedure that allowed participants to disclose their perceptions and experiences about GCP working. This can healthily be achieved through the flexibility of qualitative design (Robson, 2002). The design of methods for this study is open and flexible enough to manage this necessary complexity. The use of semi-structured interviews and focus group discussion helped to structure open-ended questions, which allowed free, open and deep discussion of the phenomenon.

Thirdly, qualitative research is about interpretation of the social world. The interpretivists believe that reality is in the mind of people and is socially constructed through interaction and thus its interpretation is based on the definitions people attach to the phenomenon in the social context (Sarantakos, 1998). Through qualitative research methods, which favour an in-depth investigation of a phenomenon, this study captured the actual voices of those involved in GCP in performing tasks and in leadership (campaigning and steering meetings, mobilising people and resources, and monitoring tasks). This helped the researcher to produce a holistic picture from the complex social dynamic processes (the GCP) of educational opportunities in rural communities.

5.2.2 Multiple-case study research

Due to the complex nature of research which is based on a qualitative approach (Ritchie, 2003), the major challenge was to choose a suitable research strategy from among the many available (including experiment, archival analysis, historical, case study and survey) (see Yin, 2003a). As described in section 5.2.1 above, the nature of this study and type of data needed fall into a case study research, multiple-case study in particular. Although case study research can involve qualitative or quantitative data, either one or both, there is a strong association between qualitative research with case study research (Lewis, 2003) because of the need to consider the detail, intensity and contextual characteristics of the phenomena (Robson, 2002; Yin, 2003a; Gerring, 2004). Due to the fact that most single-case studies include (and are even limited to) quantitative evidence (Yin, 2003a, p.14), a qualitative approach through multiple-case study was an appropriate strategy for this study.

Case study strategy is well-known in empirical studies that investigate a phenomenon within its real-life context where the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not really defined and the researcher is limited to observing actual behaviours (Yin, 2003a, p.13). In other words, a case study aims at understanding the case in depth and in its natural setting, recognising its complexity and its contexts (Ritchie, 2003). Furthermore, Yin suggests that case study research is suitable for studies driven by research questions that seek to address 'how and why' questions, as shown in section 1.3 chapter 1. The setting of questions or topics for discussion (see appendices 3 & 4) allow a free discussion, which facilitates further explanation of the phenomenon.

The case of GCP in education provision in local, often rural, setups is complex because it has to do with people's perceptions, feelings, thoughts and social-action options or choices within a defined social-spatial setting. It becomes more complex as keen interest is based on the social and power relationships between the government and the rural community at the grassroots level where community development activities are executed. Hence, it was indispensable to highlight the contextual conditions as significant to the phenomenon under study. Case study research, therefore, is suitable for this study. It captured

detailed information from the natural setting (of two rural districts) where participants (see section 5.4.2) were the main source of information.

Case study research can be designed to investigate a single-case or multiple-cases. For complex studies such as GCP, proponents of case study research have suggested the use of multiple-case study (see Stake, 1995; Cresswell, 1998; Robson, 2002; Yin, 2003a; Gerring, 2004). The multiple-case study selected for this study is based on 'case study designs' proposed by Yin (2003a, p.40) known as 'multiple-case (holistic) research'. This is where a single unity of analysis is addressed by more than one case. For this study, information about 'GCP in education provision' was explored from two rural districts, which produced a holistic picture of the nature of GCP working. This was possible through the suggested in-depth data based on multiple-sources of evidence rich in context (see also Hakim, 1987; Robson, 2002; Cresswell, 1998).

The use of qualitative multiple-case study helped to produce healthy evidence which contains a strong 'replication logic' rather than the sampling logic that is commonly applied in survey research (Yin, 2003a). The selection of cases (in terms of settings) is, according to Yin, crucial for successful results: it helps the researcher to predict similar results (literal replication) or contrasting results (theoretical replication) (Yin, 2003a, p.47). The site-cases selected for this study (see section 5.5) have features that allowed the researcher to capture data, which produced both literal and theoretical replications. A multiple-case study research, as the literature also suggests, is a vehicle for analytical or theoretical generalisation of qualitative data, as opposed to the generalisation of population drawn from a sample (sampling generalisation) in quantitative studies (Yin, 2003a; Lewis and Ritchie, 2003; Gillham, 2005).

Gillham (2005) asserts that, in qualitative research, the researcher's goal is to expand and generalise theories from theoretical sampling rather than statistical generalisation. Thus, Yin (2003a, p.53) suggests that through multiple-case study, even by studying only two cases the possibility of direct replication is high. Yin adds that the analytical conclusion drawn from each of the research cases is more powerful than those of a single-case study, because the findings have offered a somewhat contrasting context. For this study, two districts have deliberately been chosen because they have different theoretical conditions,

which offer contrasting results. However, there were similarities as well which helped to explore the magnitude of the problem. For example, the issue of ‘power relations between actors in decision-making for GCP related policies’ was noted in both districts(see chapter 7).

Such a rich theoretical framework, which generalised findings in terms of transferability, was strengthened by the triangulation of information through multiple-sources of evidence. In this study, semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions, non-participant observation and documents were triangulated to gather in-depth evidence, which explored the nature and practice of GCP. Semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions (both structured with open-ended questions) allowed the researcher to gather rich data that informed the complexity of GCP working. As Yin (2003b, p.83) remarks, when findings, interpretations and conclusions are based on such multiple-sources, the case study data will be less prone to the quirks deriving from any single-source, such as an inaccurate interviewee or a biased document.

5.3 Research instruments used

Relevant literature (as noted above) suggests that qualitative research through multiple-case study is contingent on the use of multiple-sources for collecting rich evidence to understand the phenomenon. Thus, data for this study was collected through four research instruments: semi-structured interviews; focus group discussions; non-participant observation; and documents.

5.3.1 *Semi-structured interviews*

The main source of data for the study was in-depth interviews through semi-structured interviews given to purposely selected participants (n=43) who responded to a number of questions (see appendix 3). As Gillham (2000, 2005) suggests, for research that requires an ‘in-depth’ response to explore a real world, the semi-structured interview is a key instrument because it involves both closed and open-ended questions. It is also possible for a researcher to plan partially structured interviews in which the order of questions favours the researcher’s discretion (Gall *et al.*, 2003). For the qualitative multiple-case study research upon which this study is based, this instrument is appropriate as

it helped to obtain rich and original data regarding GCP working in education provision in rural communities.

Despite the fact that semi-structured interviews are labour intensive and time consuming in the process of interviewing, transcribing and analysis of writing (Gillham, 2000), and that sometimes responses are open to bias, there are a number of advantages. First, interviews allow the researcher to obtain firsthand and rich information based in the context where the phenomenon takes place. Rubin and Rubin (1995, p.8) have pointed out that the depth, detail and richness of evidence the researcher seeks in interviews is a 'thick description', rooted in the interviewees' firsthand experience. To achieve such goals the interviews were followed by probing questions where participants elaborated their views, perceptions, feelings, values and perspectives (see also Wellington and Szczerbinski, 2007). Probes helped to keep the discussion on the right track as it was possible to ask supplementary questions where participants disclosed relevant information and clarified vague statements by extending the response in a detailed way (Gillham, 2000). That means the interpretations of the world they live in and the phenomenon under study were based on the participants' own point of view (Cohen *et al.*, 2000). The study of GCP (as explained above) is a complex phenomenon, but through such well-structured techniques, healthy data was obtained.

Secondly, semi-structured interviews facilitate a strong element of 'discovery'. They are flexible enough to allow researchers to restructure questions while providing participants with the opportunity to expand their thoughts and introduce new ideas that were not conceived by the researcher and thus enrich the findings and conclusions (Gillham, 2005). The question format of this instrument allows closed and open-ended questions to produce multiple responses by approaching different participants differently while covering the same areas of data collection (Noor, 2008). The most important tricks are (a) the ability of the researcher to manage the discussion, ensuring that the responses are within the content of the study (Holloway, 1997), and (b) to enter into the interview session with an open-mind so that new ideas relevant for study are not ignored.

Finally, the setting of this study was in the rural communities where actual GCP is practised, and the people living and participating in GCP were therefore the most targeted groups. Denzin and Lincoln (1994) have pointed out that researchers choose groups, settings and individuals where the processes being studied are most likely to occur. Also Hakim (1987) suggests that researchers consider the nature of participants whose evidence will be obtained. The participants for this study are the ordinary people in rural communities who are not only busy engaging in agricultural activities for their daily bread, but also their literacy skills were assumed to be low. As such, unlike questionnaires that would require literacy skills and would take time, interviews were found more suitable for this study.

All interviews were tape recorded with the participants' consent. Audio-tape recording was considered the best means of capturing data because it secures accurate accounts of conversations and helps the researcher to avoid losing data or misinterpreting it (Noor, 2008). This device allowed the researcher to concentrate on the participants' responses, which would not have been possible with the use of manual note-taking. The use of a tape-recorder also saved the time the researcher would spend writing. Importantly, this device allowed free discussion whereby the researcher had time to frame and ask follow-up questions using a probing technique. Moreover, the fact that the researcher recorded every response from participants meant that it was possible to listen again and re-structure the unforeseen, forgotten points or those not well responded to, into subsequent interviews with other participants.

On the other hand, the use of tape-recording is time-consuming in the process of trying to transcribe all the recorded data. Gillham (2000) estimated that a taped one-hour interview may take about 10 hours to transcribe into a tidy format. In this study, each interview lasted between 45 minutes to one hour. Since the language used was 'Swahili' (see footnote 13 in page 46), the researcher transcribed and translated the recorded data (n=43) from Swahili to English. With the help of a paid research assistant who transcribed and translated quarter of the data during data collection, this exercise took four months to complete.

5.3.2 Focus group discussions

Focus group discussions was the second important instrument used to collect relevant data for this study. The relevant literature discusses the optimum number of participants in groups, and concludes that each group should generally be between 6 and 10 participants (see Gillham, 2005; Wellington and Szczerbinski, 2007). This study had 10 groups (5 from each district) with an average of seven participants in each group (n=70). The literature suggests that the composition of participants in a focus group discussions should consider how people relate to the research topic, socio-economic status, common experiences, and characteristics (homogeneity of group) (Holloway, 1997; Finch and Lewis, 2003; Wellington and Szczerbinski, 2007). Participants for focus group discussions in this study (see section 5.4) were in three groups: community members, local leaders and school board and committee members. Although diversity may enrich the discussion, commonground between participants was considered. That means it was not possible to combine community members with local leaders in one group discussing such a complex phenomenon as GCP. Therefore, each category was treated separately but the topics or questions for discussion were the same (see appendix 4).

Morgan (1996) has recommended that in order to gather rich data (both in-depth and broad), focus group discussions has to be combined with other methods such as individual interviews or a survey. In this study, focus group discussion was used hand-in-hand with interviews and therefore helped to enrich and complement data from individual interviews. Some issues in the study of GCP (such as community participation motives) needed further clarification, which was made possible in such a socially interactive gathering. As Robson (1993) suggests, through interaction the group may reveal dynamics and issues which are not apparent in individual interviews. Again, in situations where participants react to one another's views and disagree with each other, the researcher can collect additional information (Hakimu, 1987). In this case, focus group discussions acts as a quality control device where participants in groups check and balance each other.

The main challenge of using focus group discussions to collect data is recording and management of the discussion. As Robson (1993) warned, if a researcher is

not well prepared, there is a risk of collecting data that are not consistent and complete. For this study, the research assistant helped to control the recording device while the researcher, as moderator of the discussion (Holloway, 1997), concentrated on the topic content and keeping the participant discussion linked to issues of interest.

Like the interviews, all discussions were tape recorded with the permission of participants. Wellington and Szczerbinski (2007) have suggested that a group session may last from 45 minutes to two hours and they may meet more than one time depending on the availability of resources. Each group for this study met once – not only because of the scarcity of resources, but also because the combination of focus group discussions and semi-structured interviews made it possible to gather healthy and rich data. Again, a few participants were involved in both instruments. The duration of discussion lasted between one and one and a half hours. The Swahili language was used in all discussions. The researcher spent two months transcribing and translating (from Swahili to English) all the recorded data.

5.3.3 Non-participant observation

Using non-participant observation to collect data means the researcher refrains from playing a real role in the field, a non-reactive action (Holloway, 1997), and focuses on constructing meaning and interpreting the actions of the actors. Observation is a popular method used to discover complex interactions with systematic noting and recoding of events and behaviour in natural settings (Marshall and Rossman, 1995). In this study, the researcher observed two events: (a) community development activities that community members were collectively engaged in; and (b) meetings carried out in villages and wards with community members and their leaders (general meetings) to discuss and decide the focus of their development, as well as the meetings held by school boards and committees.

Observation was helpful in a number of ways. First, it gave the researcher an opportunity to look at social processes where she discovered what was actually taking place in the situation (see Patton, 1990; Silverman, 2001). Second, observation supported, complemented and confirmed data collected from

interviews, focus group discussions and documents (Robson, 2002). Third, observation was chosen because of its capacity for directedness and the immediacy of data obtained (Silverman, 2001; Robson, 2002). Since the researcher's task was to watch and listen to people's stories while working, she gathered first-hand information by reflecting on events and actions while taking notes.

One major challenge of using observation as an instrument to collect data was that the presence of the researcher as an observer might affect the behaviour of the observed. Robson (2002) has suggested that participants have to be familiarised with the presence of a researcher so they carry out activities as usual. In this study, the relationships built during interviews and focus group discussions, where the purpose of the study was well explained and understood, helped the researcher not to be seen as a stranger. In addition, the time (more than six months) spent staying in villages, the research sites, helped the researcher to allow the participants to familiarise themselves with her.

5.3.4 Documents

Data for this study were also collected from documentary materials. The documents used were text-based, consisting of official documents such as government documents (educational policy, educational plans, and community development policy); local government reform documents; district, ward, and village action plans, letters and minutes of meetings. The most important point when using documents is for the researcher to consider the social and political context under which the document was written and produced (McNeill and Chapman, 2005). In other words, to assess the authenticity, credibility and representativeness of the document, the researcher can only interpret the meaning of the text by contextual study of the situation and conditions in which it was written and so attempt to establish the writer's intentions (Holloway, 1997).

These documents were helpful in areas where direct observation or questioning was difficult; for example, the policy-makers and politicians preferred to offer a policy document rather than describing the real situation. Documents also supplemented and supported data from interviews and focus group discussions.

They also helped in crosschecking data where information contradicted the actual practice expressed by the participants. That is, documentary evidence may form an excellent means of triangulation, helping to increase the trustworthiness, reliability, and validity of research (Wellington and Szczerbinski, 2007, p.109).

5.4 Sampling and participants for the study

5.4.1 Sampling procedures

Unlike quantitative research where a large sample-size is needed to represent a larger group in the population, samples in qualitative research are usually small in size in order to obtain rich information for understanding the study (Sale *et al.*, 2002). As Travers (2001) remarks, it is always possible to learn a lot from a little data especially if the researcher asks open-ended questions for the purpose of obtaining rich and original data. Most of questions for this study were open-ended through semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions.

For interviews, the study targeted 50 participants (25 in Mwanga and 25 in Manyoni district) to take part in the research. Generally, the response rate from both districts was satisfactory with 20 and 23 respectively (n=43/50) – 86% of the targeted participants. The description of participants is presented in section 5.4.2 below. It must be noted that the policy-makers (n=4) targeted to take part were taken out of the research during the pilot study and replaced with data from documents. This is because in the course of piloting the researcher found out that their responses were based on, or directed to, policy and government documents because they have to stick with their plans. As for focus group discussions, the target was eight groups (four from each district) but the actual groups involved were 10 (n=70). That means there was an excess of two groups, which contributed to the depth and breadth of data.

A non-probability sampling strategy, noted as appropriate for qualitative case studies (Merriam, 1988), was employed in the selection of participants for this study. Non-probability sampling, also referred to as ‘purposive’ or ‘criterion-based’ sampling, involves a process where sample units to be included in the study are deliberately selected to reflect particular features (Ritchie *et al.*,

2003, p.78). That means the selection is based on the belief that the units are helpful in achieving detailed exploration and understanding of the central themes under study (Merriam, 1988; Manson, 2002). The participants for this study were purposively selected because of their personal profiles and positions, and the roles they play in community development activities. They were considered the basic actors in the community development process, as also described in the Community Development Policy (URT, 1996, p.30).

5.4.2 Participants for the study

Based on the criteria discussed above, the following participants were involved in the study. This list includes participants involved in semi-structured interviews (n=43) and focus group discussions (n=70).

1. *Education officials*: This category comprised educational officials at regional, district, and ward levels represented by the codes 'Ed1, Ed2, and Ed3'. Ten education officials (four in Mwanga and six in Manyoni) were involved in the study. They are responsible for ensuring the proper delivery of knowledge at schools as well as planning and monitoring community development activities related to education.
2. *Local leaders*: Thirteen local leaders took part in the research (six in Mwanga and seven in Manyoni). They include hamlet/village chairs and ward/village executive officers – coded as L1 and L2. They provided views regarding the mobilisation of people and resources, campaigning and steering meetings, and monitoring the implementation of collective tasks. In addition, three groups of this category participated in focus group discussion (two from Mwanga and Manyoni one).
3. *School heads*: Four school heads (two from each district) were involved in the study because they were responsible for identifying problems and preparing plans at school level to be included in the village and ward development action plans.
4. *School boards/committee members*: Four members of this category took part in the research (two from each district). This category works closely with heads of the schools to which they belong, dealing with school development and problems including teacher and student discipline and

infrastructure. Three groups (two from Mwanga and Manyoni one) of this category participated in focus group discussions.

5. *Community development officials*: Two of them participated in the study (one from each district). They were responsible for mobilising people and for community awareness regarding community participation.
6. *Community members*: Ten community members participated in the research (five from each district). This group provided their experiences and perspectives on the practice of collective working (GCP). In addition, four groups of this category (two from each district) took part in focus group discussions.

5.4.3 Anonymity and confidentiality

Merriam (1988) has pointed out that ethical dilemmas in qualitative case study research emerge during data collection and in dissemination of findings. As such, protection of participants' and institutions' identity from the reader of the research report was sought. In line with the ethical compliance of the study (see section 5.9), anonymity and confidentiality of the participants, districts, wards, villages, and schools involved in the study were strictly protected. First, during data collection, none of the participants were requested to mention their names or any other information that might lead to disclosure of their identity (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias, 2000). During group discussion, codes were used instead of names (e.g., community members – C1, C2, C3, C4, C5 and C6) to avoid chorus responses and give each participant the rights to air his/her views.

Secondly, during report writing (dissemination of findings) codes were used to represent participants and institutions and, wherever necessary, any comments that might show direct and indirect attributes of individual participants or groups were avoided (Lewis, 2003). This means that in verbatim extracts the anonymous codes were used to represent specific categories that were found easy to recognise. That is in interviews education officials were referred to as Ed1, Ed2, Ed3; local leaders as L1, L2; and districts as D1 and D2. 'Community members', 'school heads', 'school board' and 'committee members' were not coded because villages and schools were not identified. In focus group

discussions, the groups' titles were maintained: that is 'local leaders' was used as most groups involved both L1 and L2; 'school board' and 'school committee members'; and 'community members' except in page 171 codes CM1, CM2, CM3, CM4, CM5, CM6 were used to show the trend of the dialogue. However, in some cases names of specific categories or districts mentioned by participants have been retained with anonymous extracts.

5.5 Research setting and gaining access

5.5.1 Research setting

Locating the right research settings that provide relevant information about the phenomenon under study is one of the major challenges in qualitative research because it relies on the researcher's construction and the complex logistics of the broader environment (Holloway, 1997; Holliday, 2007). Relevant literature points out that in qualitative studies (particularly multiple-case studies), it is useful to study more than one setting which is described in detail (see Holloway, 1997; Yin, 2003a). This allows the reader to visualise the settings in relation to the findings presented and the conclusions drawn from findings. This study was conducted in Mwanga district (North-East Kilimanjaro region) and Manyoni district (Central Singida region), both found in Tanzania. The two sites were purposely selected because they seem to offer a deep understanding of the phenomenon due to their varied social, cultural, economic, environmental and political experiences.

This variation can be seen, firstly, in the socio-economic status: the economic national scale shows that Manyoni district belongs to a region (Singida) that is among the 5 least developed regions (n=21), while Mwanga belongs to a region (Kilimanjaro) which is ranked number 8 among the 10 most developed regions in the country (National Bureau of Statistics, 2008) (see appendix 7). In addition, Manyoni falls within the semi-arid or drought-prone areas with shortages of food due to uncertain rainfall.

Secondly, Mwanga district is well known for its strong community collective work-motif through a social-cultural tradition of '*msaragambo*' and therefore social interaction, community awareness and commitment to collective work is

supposed to be relatively high (see URT, 2005c; Nasibu, 2009). Manyoni district, on the other hand, is characterised as a pastoralist area maintaining a nomadic culture, which becomes a challenge to establishing permanent settlements and collectively engaging in socio-economic activities where people can live a communal life.

Thirdly, there is variation in the basic statistics (attributes) of formal education (primary and secondary). While Mwanga has 108 primary schools with a pupil-classroom ratio of 56, Manyoni has 93 primary schools with pupil-classroom ratio of 80 (URT, 2007b, p.29). Statistics for secondary education were available by regions: Kilimanjaro region (Mwanga) had 293 secondary schools (202 being public schools); Singida region (Manyoni) had 114 secondary schools (102 being public schools) (URT, 2007b, p.68). It has to be noted that Manyoni has a larger population (205,423) than Mwanga (115,620)¹⁶. Although pupil-classroom ratio in Mwanga seems to fall below the national standard (45:1), Manyoni was expected to have at least a reasonable number of schools corresponding to the general population.

Although there is the above noted variation, the two districts have similar important feature as well. That they are rural-based where poverty resides because the basic source of income depends on agricultural activities (URT, 2009c, p.94) which promote a hand-to-mouth economy, mostly for subsistence. Unlike urban-based areas, people in rural areas are understood to be living a communal life sharing social and cultural values that serve as capital in solving the perceived common problems collectively. Relevant literature suggests that this group is easy to mobilise for community participation because of the established social networks and interaction through cohesive and strong collective identity (Delanty, 2003; Beard and Dasgupta, 2006).

With such practical and theoretical frameworks for research settings, the researcher obtained multiple perspectives with similar, differing and contradicting realities. This multiplicity has enriched the qualitative multiple-case study findings.

¹⁶ (see <http://www.tanzania.go.tz/2002census.PDF>)

5.5.2 Gaining access to research sites

Another important aspect in empirical research is access to research sites. In Tanzania, the University of Dar-es-Salaam (through the Directorate of Research and Publication Unit) is mandated to provide research clearance for its academic staff members. The researcher is a member of staff in the department of Educational Foundations, Management and Lifelong Learning at the University of Dar-es-Salaam. Therefore, having ethical approval obtained from the School of Education, Glasgow University, research clearance was granted. This permission helped to gain access to the regions where the researcher obtained letters that allowed her to access districts, wards, villages and schools.

However, having access to research sites does not guarantee the researcher access to the required data. There was a need to build trust with the participants because their experience of research in rural areas is that it is for the researchers' benefit, particularly when organisations or government officials are involved, and a practice that participants and the local people associate with politics (see chapter 9 for a discussion about the direction of research carried out by organisations and institutions). I grew up and have lived in rural areas so I am aware of these research practices. My student identity card, the ethical approved form I had from Glasgow University and my research permit from Dar es Salaam University assured the participants' confidence to talk.

Once I had gained the trust of the participants, it was possible to engage them in an interactive and flexible discussion (individually and in groups) as explained in sections 5.3.1 and 5.3.2. This helped me to gather strong data (see chapters 6, 7, 8, and 9) address the research questions (see section 1.3) and uncover unanticipated issues that challenge GCP working. For example, in chapter 6 section 6.6, participants talked about the challenge of collective working and young people, which provided a wider perspective on the tensions between the younger generation, collective working, education, employment opportunities and the individualised attitudes encouraged by a neoliberal economy.

5.6 Pilot study

A pilot study was conducted in order to assist the researcher in determining the potential flaws involved in data collection involving conversation in terms of time, length of interviews and group discussion guide, and language used. This initial study also allowed for the assessment of the suitability of research designs and methods. Turner (2010) says that a pilot test involves participants who have similar interests or characteristics as those expected to participate in the implemented study. For this study, having two cases from the same country, pre-testing of the study was conducted in one district involving interviews with three participants and two group discussions. That is, the interviews involved one community member, one local leader, and one education official. For focus group discussions, there was one group of school board members and one of local leaders.

Piloting the study, as also commented by Yin (2003a), gives the researcher opportunity to refine data collection plans, as well as the type and content of the questions used to gather data before the actual data collection takes place. For this study, there were no major changes in both instruments as the participants responded clearly to all the questions. The interviews lasted 45 minutes while focus group discussions took one hour and ten minutes. The data obtained from both instruments were rich and of good quality. As such, they were included in the main study because the interval, in terms of time between the pilot and the main study, was short and there were no substantial changes (see Glastonbury and McKean, 1991).

5.7 Data management and analysis procedure

5.7.1 Data management

Both interviews and focus group discussions were recorded using a digital recording device and transferred into a computer hard disc. Copies of labelled files (indicating date, time, location, category of participants involved, and length) were backed-up on a memory stick. The data were then transcribed verbatim and translated (from Swahili to English). The process went hand-in-hand with data collection. However, due to time constraints, only a quarter of

the data were processed in Tanzania with the help of a paid transcriber. The remaining part was transcribed and translated in Glasgow by the researcher. Enough back-up copies were prepared for all the transcribed data and stored according to labels on computer which is protected by a personal password.

With the use of NVivo (a qualitative data analysis software package), both interview and group discussion transcripts were organised and arranged in relation to the identified themes and sub-themes (as described in the section below). The use of computer software (NVivo) in organising data (as part of the data analysis process) did not replace the researcher's energy and time in handling data, rather it helped to keep data in a manageable and easy form for retrieval when needed for the analysis and report writing process (Bazeley, 2007).

Data from documents and observations were also handled with care. They were processed in Glasgow. This process involved selecting relevant documents that complemented, supported or contradicted data from interviews and group discussions. All selected and observed information was typed and saved on a computer and protected by a personal password.

5.7.2 Thematic analysis

Qualitative research is not only susceptible to difficulties in planning for the proper strategy to collect relevant information for the phenomena and for the recording and handling of volumes of notes, but also the analysis procedures may become overwhelming tasks for researchers (Miles, 1979). The central difficulty in qualitative data analysis, as Miles suggests, is a lack of a well-defined or formulated method (see also Yin, 2003a). With these potential difficulties in mind and after a thorough examination of current developments in the field suggesting ways of identifying themes or patterns from qualitative data, a *thematic analysis* was chosen as the appropriate method (Boyatzis, 1998; Ryan and Bernard, 2003; Braun and Clarke, 2006). Therefore, based on theoretical assumptions and understanding of the nature and history of collective activities (GCP) in Tanzania and the critical examination of the raw data collected from interviews, focus group discussions, documents and observation (Boyatzis, 1998; Ryan and Bernard, 2003), four main themes and sub-themes were identified.

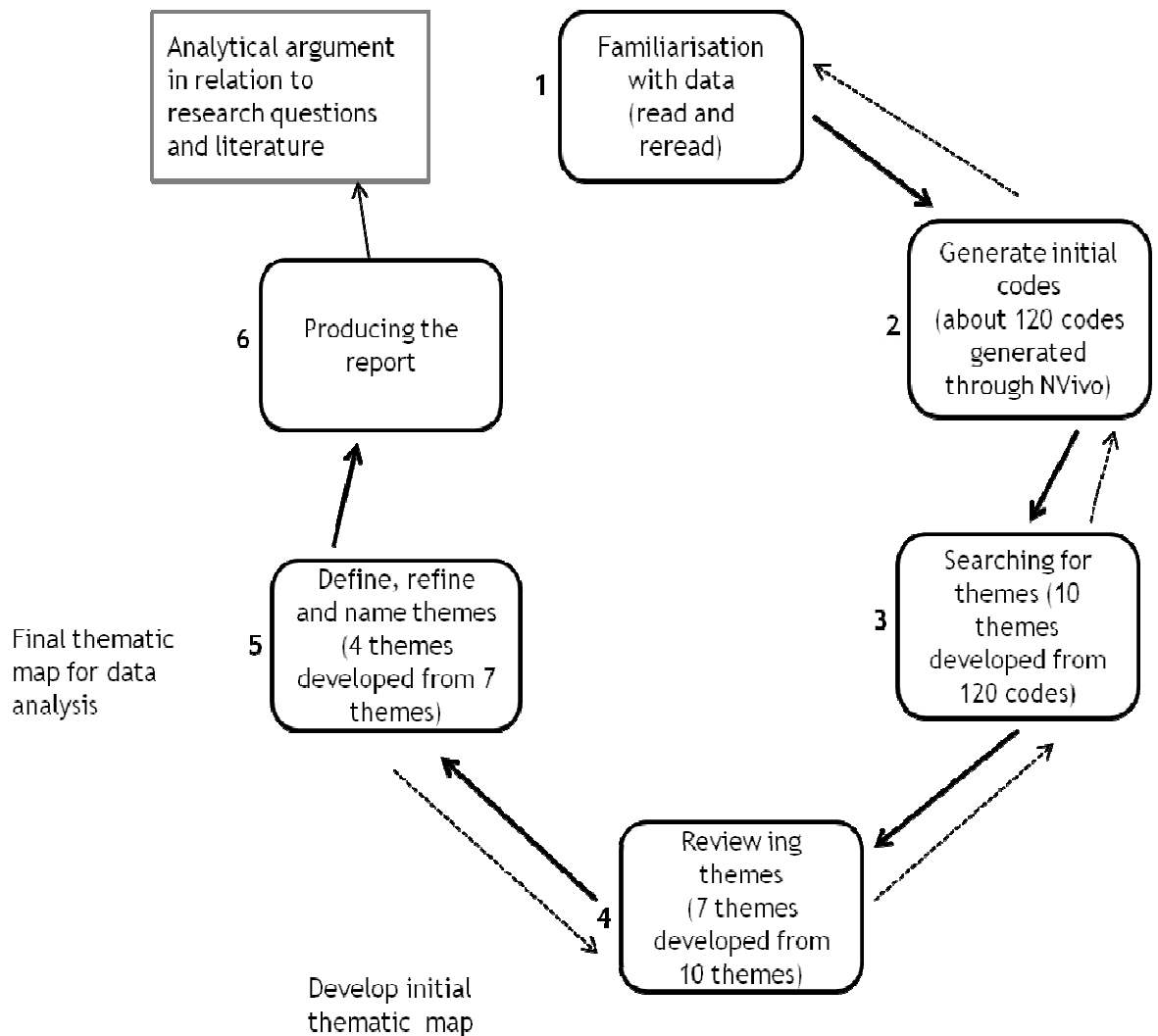
These form chapters 6, 7, 8, and 9 (see figure 5.2). Data analysis techniques were guided by both thematic deductive (theory/analytic-driven) and thematic inductive (data-driven) approaches.

This study matches both approaches since the nature of the phenomenon under study relies on both participants' perspectives and experiences gained from engaging in GCP for their development, and the analytical examination of documents such as policies, plans and literature on the phenomenon. As such, GCP becomes a complex phenomenon and its examination needs to capture the diversity of socio-cultural and political understanding of the people involved. As Boyatzis (1998) points out, to avoid an interpretive dilemma in studying complex phenomena, both theoretical and empirical justification are considered important. In other words, research projects that come to the study without examining their underlying assumptions, usually encounter much difficulty (Miles, 1979). In this study, for example, the theme of 'micro-politics of policy-making and implementation' process for community development activities (chapter 7) was framed in advance. However, the chapter was enriched by many unforeseen issues that formed sub-themes which resulted from the richness of qualitative data.

The choice of a thematic analysis method was based on its capacity to use a variety of types of information drawn from various methods in a systematic manner that increased accuracy and sensitivity in understanding and interpreting people's ideas or events (Boyatzis, 1998). This study used four methods to gather rich information collected from two rural districts. This required a systematic analysis procedure. Thematic analysis is seen as a foundational method for analysing qualitative data due to the fact that such data are diverse and complex (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

Based on the six phases suggested by Braun and Clarke (2006, p.87), this study developed four main themes which formed a basis of findings reported in chapters 6, 7, 8 and 9. The phases include *familiarisation with data; generating initial codes; searching for themes; reviewing themes; define, refine and naming themes; and producing report*. Figure 5.1 represents these phases.

Figure 5.1: Identifying themes through thematic analysis



Familiarisation with data began during the data collection process as all interviews and group discussions were conducted by the researcher herself. The act of data transcription (the researcher transcribed three quarters of the data) was another initial step in familiarisation with and understanding of the data (see also Ryan and Bernard, 2003). It was important in this phase to read and re-read the transcripts or field notes to identify issues by concentrating on repetitions. Ryan and Bernard (2003, p.89) assert that the most obvious themes from massive data are those topics that occur and re-occur. In Figure 5.1, the dotted lines indicate a continuous process of reading and re-reading the data.

Being familiar with and understanding the data well helped to spot possible topics for the development of themes and minimised the common dilemma that most researchers experience when developing codes using thematic analysis, particularly from the data-driven approach (Boyatzis, 1998). As shown in figure

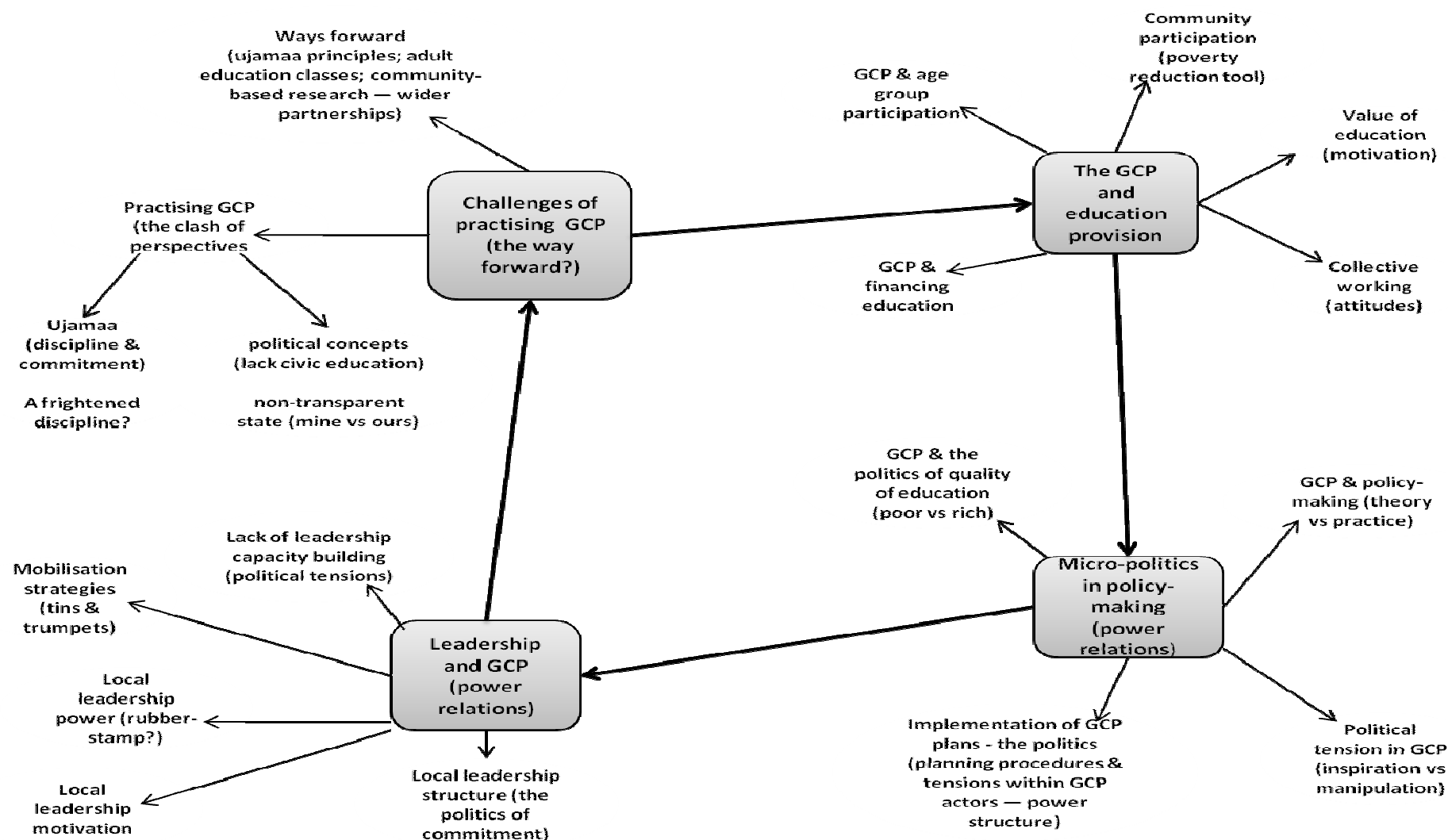
5.1, generating initial codes was facilitated by the use of computer software (NVivo). It is believed that the use of computers ensures accuracy, thoroughness, attention to detail and the process is thereby more methodological and thus yields a more complete picture of data for interpretation than working manually (Bazeley, 2007, p.3). Hence, the quality, rigour and trustworthiness of the qualitative research is enhanced (Welsh, 2002; Bazeley, 2007).

With the help of NVivo, about 120 codes were generated, a process that consumed time and largely comprised careful scrutiny of data in the first phase. One of the merits of using software like NVivo for organising data, Bazeley (2007, p.9) says, there is a retrievable coded text, which allows the researcher to 'recontextualise' the data and discover new ideas. This takes us to the third phase: 'searching themes'. This is where data are collated in potential themes (Braun and Clarke, 2006). This stage is similar to what Ryan and Bernard (2003) refer to as 'indigenous typologies' where the researcher critically scrutinises the data to identify issues that seem familiar and common. For this study, having 120 codes generated in the previous stage simplified the researcher's work of developing themes. Thus, after reading and re-reading the codes in conjunction with the documents and observation notes, ten main themes were developed.

The fourth phase is about reviewing themes. This is an important stage where the themes developed earlier are reviewed to ensure that they work together with the coded extracts (from transcripts) (Braun and Clarke, 2006). After the thorough examination of themes and coded extracts, the ten themes were reduced to seven themes and various sub-themes were developed. At this stage an initial thematic map was developed where the big picture of the research emerged. Having such a map enabled the process of defining, refining and naming themes to begin at the fifth phase. Here the seven themes and sub-themes were refined to form a full story for analysis where a final thematic map with four main themes and several sub-themes were finally developed and represented in figure 5.2. The main themes are: (a) Government-community partnership (GCP) in education provision; (b) Micro-politics in policy-making and implementation process (c); Leadership and GCP; and (d) Challenges and opportunities for GCP (see chapters 6, 7, 8, and 9 respectively).

Finally, the report was written and produced (the thesis). As shown in figure 5.1, the analytical research story was linked with the research questions, literature reviewed and theoretical framework, and was enlivened with vivid examples from the data which, combined with theory and practice, demonstrated the reality of the GCP working for rural community development.

Figure 5.2: A thematic map: Key themes and sub-themes extracted from data through thematic analysis



5.8 Validity and reliability in qualitative research

While quantitative research relies on traditional experimental methods and conventional means to establish trust, authenticity and consistency of findings as proof for generalising findings to the general population, the goals of qualitative research are different. In qualitative research, researchers expect a variety of perspectives leading to many interpretations because the context is fluid as it reflects the diversity in the social setting under study. Thus, the main concern is trustworthiness and transferability of findings, rather than generalisation (Merriam, 1988; Holloway, 1997). That is, the emphasis of qualitative research is on gathering an authentic understanding of people's experiences of phenomena, rather than on the reliability of replicable data (Silverman, 2001, p.13).

For this study, trustworthiness, authenticity and transferability of findings were achieved through two main ways. Firstly, the researcher demonstrated an adequacy of evidence that portrays a truthful picture of the participants involved and the research context. Relevant literature has noted that providing a rich and thick description of research procedures allows the reader to transfer findings because of the knowledge base of information that relates to the judgements and conclusions made (Merriam, 1988; Holloway, 1997; Morrow, 2005). In this chapter, sections 5.4 and 5.5 provide detailed and complete descriptions of participants involved and of the research settings. In addition, chapters 6, 7, 8, and 9 contain analytical discussions of findings based on the evidence from participants' voices and perspectives. Data for these chapters were collected using four instruments (see section 5.3) from which multiple realities were obtained. Merriam (1988) has pointed out that triangulation of multiple-sources for gathering data over a period of time are basic strategies to authenticate qualitative case study research.

Secondly, trustworthiness, authenticity and transferability of findings were achieved by the fact that the framework settings for this study were based on cross-site or cross-case analysis with the data triangulated through multiple-sources and multiple-voices. This demonstrated the transferability and credibility of the study (see Merriam, 1988; Anfara *et al.*, 2002). The use of multiple-case study strategy (see section 5.2.2) provided the basis for such frameworks. As Baxter and Jack (2008) propose, in order to demonstrate

impartiality in analysing phenomena viewed and explored from multiple perspectives, there has to be triangulation of multiple-methods, settings, and sources.

5.9 Ethical compliance

The necessary procedures for ethical requirements in undertaking research were followed. Firstly, the researcher submitted a comprehensive application for the approval of the ethical committee, which conformed to the University of Glasgow's ethical code of research, a process, which is now prevalent in many educational and research institutions (Cohen *et al.*, 2000). The plain language statement attached to the ethical application form (see appendix 1) demonstrates procedures of data management and storage, and assures the protection of participants from harm. Secondly, among other forms attached to the ethical application form is the 'informed consent' document (see appendix 2). Based on the understanding that participation in the study is voluntary (Lewis, 2003), informed consent assures the safety of the participants by guaranteeing that their views will not be misused and that they will not risk coming under any threat because of this research. As stated earlier, this study seeks to explore how GCP works, based on people's understanding and perspectives towards the complex social relationships they encounter. As such, personal opinions probed and obtained during interviews and group discussions needed protection.

All participants in both interviews and group discussions were provided with an informed consent form to read and sign followed by clear explanation from the researcher wherever there was doubt. Like other research documents obtained in the course of data collection, all the signed consent forms were stored and locked in a drawer. Participants were assured of the privacy of these forms and that they would be destroyed when the thesis is completed and defended. In addition, to assure participants that they are fully protected and thus they can freely express their experiences regarding GCP working, the researcher committed to provide feedback in terms of summary of the findings upon the completion of thesis report writing.

Having discussed research design and methods as well as how data was collected, managed and analysed, the next four chapters (6, 7, 8 and 9) present, analyse and discuss the findings, linking them with research questions (section 1.3), literature review (chapter 3) and the theoretical framework (chapter 4).

Chapter 6

Government-Community Partnership in Education Provision

6.1 Introduction

The right to education of every individual in society was first laid down in 1948 in Article 26 of the United Nations Charter in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. This right was further recognised by research and reports that followed which noted that education, and quality education in particular, improves life chances and at the same time impacts on reducing poverty. (Nyerere, 1967; World Bank, 1996; Omari, 1999; Malale, 2002; UNESCO, 2011b; Mtey and Sulle, 2013). Providing such education in developing countries, in rural Tanzania in particular, requires the joint effort of various educational stakeholders. For this study the joint effort is between the government and the community, that is, the government-community partnership (GCP), with community participatory approaches applied nationwide to pool human, financial and material resources (see URT, 1995a, 2001a).

Effective partnership working (such as GCP) depends on a number of factors. These include: the extent to which the structure of partnership (including goals and actors) is clear to all partners (McQuaid, 2000; Pinkus, 2005); the extent and nature of network ties and connections among actors (Granovetter, 1973; Burt, 1992; Putnam, 2000; Field, 2003); and whether actions within such social working environments are reciprocated and based on mutual trust (Warner, 2001; Bienzle *et al.*, 2007; Kadushin, 2012; Carolan, 2014). It is also important for a partnership to consider the extent to which partners meet their obligations, and whether the policy and resources attached to the partnership are realistic and viable.

This chapter and the three (chapters 7, 8, and 9) which follow it, reflect themes identified from the analysis of data collected in two rural districts in Tanzania through qualitative multiple-case study methods as discussed in chapter 5. This chapter addresses research question 1 (*Under what conditions do local*

communities participate effectively as partners with government in education and community development activities?). Its purpose is to explore the context to which community participation is practised within the GCP framework and it begins by presenting the characteristics of community participation from the perspectives of the participants (section 6.2). It then analyses the factors that motivate local people to collectively participate in education and community development activities (section 6.3).

The chapter explores the varying importance local people attached to collective work and the major impact of the different levels of commitment on the effectiveness of the GCP (section 6.4). A detailed analysis follows on how education is being financed in a GCP framework, and the dependency on the varied levels of collective working in the districts (section 6.5). It appears that the complexity of social relationships within partnerships can inhibit the GCP from achieving the intended goals (McQuaid, 2000). The chapter further examines participant age as a factor (section 6.6). Section 6.7 provides a detailed discussion of findings in the context of the literature and the theoretical framework.

6.2 Community participation: ‘A poverty reduction tool’

In the Tanzanian context, ‘community participation’ is not a new concept. *Kushirikiana* in Swahili means ‘working together collectively’ or communally. It is a spirit embedded in the socio-economic and political ideology of socialism and self-reliance of the 1960s during *ujamaa* and the *Arusha Declaration* when the country attempted to build a self-reliant society.

In this study, community participation was seen by the participants as a kind of self-help precept where community members work together, employing their own resources for their development. There was a sense that community participation is a tool for poverty reduction. Such feelings are based on people’s experiences that through collective efforts they could build schools, which would ensure that the poor majority would have access to education (community member, D2). It needs to be made clear at this point that community participation was not applied in education related activities only, rather, as participants said, it is applied to any social gathering for community

development where people offer contributions (cash, materials or labour) to build schools, classrooms, health centres, roads, wells, etc. (community member, D1). From a network perspective, it implies strong network ties between community members with a belief in mutual sharing of values, norms and local resources to strengthen bonding social capital for their development.

Participants also felt that for effective community participation, there is a need for all community members to be aware of their part in the participation, as L1 from D2 explained:

Community participation includes the process of educating people to make them aware of their involvement so that 'we' are together. ...schools they are building are for their children's future

Here, involvement in educational provision is expressed in simple terms - that it is a collective act, which will ensure children a better life. At the same time, this understanding of community participation implies a situation where the end is pre-determined by a certain group (here, the government top officials) and community members need to be 'made aware' to achieve that goal. So it could be a response to the Education Act No. 25 of 1978, amended in 1995 (URT, 1995a) which introduced compulsory primary education. That is, by involving community members in educational provision, they would feel more obliged to send their children to school.

Participants viewed access to information on anything happening in the community, including development activities, as an important aspect of community participation (community member, D2). In addition, L1 from D1 said that 'information leads to effective involvement'.

When participation relies on 'being informed', the implication is that people just follow pre-determined instructions, suggesting a primarily top-down system and a low level of participation. However, although 'information' is the bottom level in Arnstein's participation ladder (see figure 3.1), nonetheless it was seen as significant for community participation. The extent to which local people are effectively informed about, or involved in, developmental activities is a complicated topic and is discussed in chapter 7. Further, although ideally community participation involved everyone taking part in development activities

— a sign of mutual social relationship — the success of such arrangements depends on the power of local leadership to mobilise people, a topic discussed in chapter 8.

Having analysed local people's perspectives on community participation, the next section explores motivational factors that inspire local people to engage in GCP working relationships.

6.3 'Value of education': a motivational factor for GCP participation?

In this study, the 'value of education' appeared as a major motivational force for local people to participate in GCP working. For them, education leads to resolutions of other socio-economic problems in society and they expressed how important education is in their lives in a number of ways. At the same time, there were differences in the responses between the two districts involved (see section 5.5, chapter 5 for descriptions of the districts). These are discussed next.

Starting with D2, the value attached to education is historically imbued in the socio-cultural tradition known as *msaragambo*¹⁷. This is a key concept for socio-economic development in the district. It implies strong network ties and bonding social capital. With such a strong socio-cultural belief in collective work, participants were able to explain clearly the importance of education in their society. They saw education as having an economic power that assures people a better future life. In this case, education was prioritised as such a major investment for their children's future that sacrifices must be made to ensure its provision, as this L2 explained:

...We sacrifice a lot to invest in education and send our children to school. ...The district doesn't have fertile land for agricultural activities; ...only the educated people can secure paid jobs in offices.

One community member aligned it with patriotic duty:

¹⁷ Msaragambo is a traditional local way of gathering people in order to confront a task or face a challenge as a team. It is a social-cultural tool in community dynamism and social-action drive, which at some point became a reference-point in the social-economic, cultural, and education discussion and interaction among the local populace (Nasibu, 2009).

...we are aware, keen, patriotic and hard-workers; our priority is education.

Another community member explained further, how their culture facilitates the belief in education:

We are working together with the government at both village and ward levels through *msaragambo*: we collect stones, gravel, clear land, and contribute cash, e.g., apart from labour and in-kind, everyone is supposed to contribute Tshs¹⁸.3,000/= for school building.

Community members participating in focus group discussion expressed similar views on the value of education in their development of which they felt responsible. One of them said:

...we went through schools that our elders worked hard to build. Thus, if I am supposed to participate in school building I must act quickly and I feel proud because our children and of all the coming generation will be educated.

The findings above imply a sign both of trust and of belief in reciprocity of obligations from the government. It also shows that contributing to school building is something that all people have to offer for education provision. They then have high expectations that the schooling (in the schools they built) will ensure learning, better jobs and less poverty. With this, and as the findings show, the majority of young people are moving away from the rural areas to the cities and towns where employment opportunities are believed to be high. With poor agricultural activities and lack of industry, it seems people have accepted the inevitable consequence of education even though it might endanger the inbuilt collective spirit (*msaragambo*) and undermine the stock of bonding social capital since the majority of the labour force will be in the city looking for paid work.

Another local word that goes along with *msaragambo* to encourage people's participation in education provision in the district is *kariongo*¹⁹. The importance

¹⁸ Tshs stands for Tanzanian currency, i.e., Tanzania Shillings. 1US Dollar is approximately 1600 Tshs

¹⁹ Kariongo, a local word, means brain. It was invented by the former political leader (in late 1990s) encouraging people to participate in educational activities and send their children to school. In most offices in the district, wards, villages and schools there is a poster with the phrase '*Develop Kariongo*'.

of developing children's *kariongo* for community development was emphasised, as this Ed2 expressed:

Our economy is low. We must invest in and improve the *kariongo* – the only source of development. We must educate and improve children's *kariongo* to compete in the job-market, either being employed or self-employed, and then take care of their old parents.

Community members participating in focus group discussion had this to say:

Although not all people participate in these activities, majority of people are aware of the importance of schools and education; we know that education is the foundation of our children's lives...

The findings show how the practice of involving local people connects to deeper traditions of collective activity. It seems local people have high expectations of the sacrifices they make for their children's education. However, in the GCP (as presented in section 6.5), it is the government's responsibility to ensure that children are able to climb the ladder to job opportunities. Although the tradition of *msaragambo* implies the existence of strong network ties and bonding social capital, the extent to which these ties are mutually extended and connected with other ties at the top level (government or district) is still a challenge (discussed in Chapter 7).

Contrary to D2 where education is valued and is embedded in traditions of collective work, in D1 there is evidence that the majority of people attached a lower value to education. Effort and sacrifice as well as voluntary labour, materials and cash for education provision, appeared to be lower than in D2. Participants explained that participation is the result of pressure, as this school head said:

...education is not yet being seen as an important thing in life; for most people here, educating children is an unnecessary expense. ...village leaders spend much effort, and sometimes pressure, to make people participate.

During focus group discussion, local leaders had this to add:

The people in this community are not aware of the importance of education and educating their children. They are difficult to appear in collective activities.

A school board member expressed the difficulties they encounter to ensure children are enrolled to schools:

...when you compare this district with others in the country, there is nothing like the '*thirst for education*'. Sometimes we have to beg parents to send children to school, let alone to build those schools. They don't see why they should spend time and resources for school building.

From the evidence above, it seems there is low social capital among local people and their leaders, implying that their network ties are also low or weak. The low value attached to education was associated with the lack of school education among the parents. As L1 claimed, the majority of people from that area could not accept education as part of their lives. It is unfortunate, and perhaps outside people's expectations since historically the district is said to be among the first districts established before independence. As this L1 explained:

This district has been established since 1958. ...thus, it was expected to be in the front line in all developmental aspects, especially education, the foundation of everything in life.

This finding suggests that there were some weaknesses on the part of the government in earmarking and overseeing the distribution of national wealth according to districts' conditions. It might also be that campaigns for educational development had not yet reached all communities and/or been accepted by them, or that other cultural values were put above education. Moreover, local people might not believe in the possibility of change and thus, to them, education had no value. However, as noted above, participants expressed their perception of education as a foundation for life, which implies that originally people were keen for education but became disillusioned and demoralised with the government's failure to respond to local people's efforts to work together for educational development. Community members participating in the focus group discussion had this to say:

...like any other business, investing in education you expect benefits. If children are failing, what is the point of engaging in such a business? It is like working hard in your *shamba* expecting more crops but you get nothing in return.

When people develop such attitudes towards collective activity for education, it weakens the practice of community participation and increases the level of poverty in rural communities. Looking at the finding above, the argument that people do not value education might be wrong. The government might not have played its part yet in response to the community's investment in education, which indicates that the actions in the partnership are not reciprocated. As will be seen in chapter 7, government politics and power relations seem to limit the communities' rights to challenge the government's responsibilities. Instead, people have chosen to give up collective activities. Arguably, to cover up poor government policy or inefficient implementation, people in the communities are blamed and accused of 'not valuing education'.

6.4 Attitudes towards collective working

Engaging in partnership working depends on people's awareness and perception of collective work as well as the strength of network ties and the stock of social capital. The participants' perspectives regarding this phenomenon varied between the districts.

In D2 for example, the participants had positive attitudes towards work and collective working for the education and community development of the district. As explained in sections 6.3 above, working hard is part of people's culture, inherited and internalised from their ancestors as part of their lives. As this community member explained:

...We started working together many decades ago helping each other to build houses. Any person from this district understands the meaning of working together for development, for instance, we didn't have roads, but collectively through *msaragambo*, most villages and homes are now reachable.

Another community member explained how collective activity through the tradition of *msaragambo* is learnt in society:

...when a child is born, as s/he grows, seeing people engaging in collective work (*msaragambo*), s/he learns the norms and values of society.

Such strong socio-cultural interaction and connection among local people suggests a high level of bonding social capital based on strong community network ties, which are fundamental for community development. Here people do not only value reciprocity of actions, but also trust that collective work pays. With such attitudes, it is possible to respond to challenges that face the community and the nation in general.

Local leaders involved in focus group discussions had similar views regarding the spirit of collective working in the district:

...Being alone you cannot do something tangible. Working or just discussing with others you will learn various things and techniques that challenge your life compared to when you are alone.

L1 emphasised:

...When it comes to collective working, you don't need to teach people about it, just inform or remind them to appear in *msaragambo*.

Furthermore, it was observed that this community had strategically planned the best day(s) to secure community contributions (cash, labour or in-kind) for the successful completion of community development activities. The day is referred to as '*maendeleo*' – 'development' or '*msaragambo*' day. Community members participating in focus group discussion explained:

We have *msaragambo* in Mondays; ...but if there is a need we can have more days, for instance, when we were building a school toilet, we added Wednesday because children's health was at risk.

However, despite the strong socio-cultural tradition of working together in which the majority are proud of their development, there were cases where the 'newcomers' or 'outsiders' could not internalise such traditions. This was noticed in the lowland areas of the district, which are becoming more urbanised and with a high population because of the newcomers. The majority of the population in these areas are engaged in small business and fishing activities. L2 commented:

...These people don't understand when they are told to work collectively for the district development; they have no passion for the development of this area.

This suggests that newcomers lacked a sense of social and mutual reciprocity, as their intention seems to focus on earning from business and fishing. That means they do not consider themselves as part of any existing network and therefore do not see why they should engage in collective activities for district development. Unless local authorities create some laws or rules to protect local traditions, it will be challenging to create network ties with newcomers and to build social capital.

D1 on the other hand, had a somewhat negative attitude towards work and collective working. Participants felt the need for people to change as the gap in development between this district and others is large. As this community development official (CDO) explained:

...People's attitudes towards collective and hard working for their development have not changed. ...They never learn or copy good things from others. They are too conservative with their cultures.

The point this CDO made is similar to what local leaders said during the focus group discussion: 'People do not understand the importance of community participation because they have not yet accepted that the government is there to help'. It seems that collective working and hard work are not part of the traditions of this district.

It seems that local leaders (or the system) have failed to make people understand and comply. Instead of criticising policy and how it is implemented, the victims are blamed and labelled '*lazy*' as illustrated by this comment from Ed1 and local leaders during the focus group discussion: 'People in this area are lazy. They don't want to work hard. They place no value on collective activities'. It could be argued that such comments indicate a lack of leadership capacity. As noted earlier, people have not experienced the benefits of collective work. Local government officials, instead of being responsible and accountable, blame the community. The community seemed to lack ties that could connect local actors together as well as with leaders, particularly at

government level. This context may be responsible for reinforcing a negative view of collective work and education.

Some community members supported the view that the majority of local people do not value collective working. As this community member said:

...very few people comply and participate. Essentially, no one is willing to participate for a 100%.

As noted earlier, the government and leaders blame people for being lazy, while people blame the government for their lack of engagement in collective work. Such a working relationship suggests the existence of an unhealthy social working environment. That results in actors working in a non-transparent environment which lacks trust and thereby prevents the possibility of building bridging and linking social capital. It appears that leaders stand in the way of collective working happening. Such a situation needs leadership with a capacity for resolving problems and for bringing people together for partnership working. Chapter 8 provides details about leadership in the GCP framework.

Interestingly, while newcomers in D2 appeared to be an obstacle to collective working, in D1, places with a high number of newcomers have positive attitudes towards work and collective working. As this school board member explained:

...this ward has small companies, a railway station, and a good hospital with a large population of migrants from various areas looking for jobs. ...They are ready to participate. They are aware of the importance of education for development.

The CDO had this to say:

The newcomers own almost all the businesses in the district. The natives earn their living in small-scale peasant farming or work as casual labourers in the farms or businesses of the newcomers.

The findings above imply that the newcomers have their own networks, which compete with the existing networks (if any). Newcomers in this district seem to value both individual gain from companies and collective good by participating in collective activities, particularly education activities.

As explained above, this was a challenge to the indigenous community who found it difficult to change their attitudes on collective development. Local leaders during group discussion emphasised: ‘It is very unfortunate, since even when days are arranged for collective work, very few people attend’. Again, in working relationships of this nature, unless leaders from the top to the lower levels (see figure 8.1) become transparent, responsible, accountable and committed, attitudes towards collective work are likely to be worse. In this context, it is also important to examine attitudes towards collective work, local government and culture across the generations (see section 6.6). But for now, the study turns to examining how education is being financed in the GCP framework, and how this reflects districts’ collective working efforts.

6.5 Financing education within the GCP framework

The Education and Training Policy (URT, 1995a) makes it clear that the financing of education is a shared responsibility between various stakeholders including government, donors (World Bank, development partners), local government authorities, parents and communities. The funds from donors and other funding agencies are channelled directly into the government through General Budget Support (GBS) (URT, 2006b, 2007c). Communities are contributing through the Education Sector Development Programme (ESDP), a sector-wide approach to pool human, financial and material resources and was established to implement education programmes including the Primary Education Development Plan (PEDP) and the Secondary Education Development Plan (SEDP), both of which are in their second phase (see URT, 2001a, 2004, 2005b, 2006b, 2010b). Ideally, the arrangement of these contributions is based on 80:20 ratios (i.e. government 80% and community 20%). It is the purpose of the next sub-section to examine the nature of education financing through GCP.

6.5.1 Government and community contributions — the GCP

Apart from paying teachers’ salaries, evidence from official documents shows that the government is financing schools through GBS by providing grants called capitation grants²⁰ and development grants²¹ (see URT, 2001b, 2004, 2006b). At

²⁰ Capitation grants — for recurrent school expenses and teaching-learning materials/aids including textbooks, laboratory equipment and chemicals (especially for secondary schools), capacity building, school administration and stationary. This grant is determined on per head student/pupil per year.

primary level, the government is providing Tshs.10,000/= capitation grant per primary pupil and Tshs.30,000/= per secondary. Through local government authorities, each school has a bank account where the funds are sent. It is the duty of school committees and boards to run these accounts and approve budgets for school development plans.

Local communities (in both phases of PEDP and SEDP) were expected to contribute cash, materials and volunteer labour to build schools within their areas. The precise contribution arrangements depended on the specific project. Participants explained their experiences on how they collaborate with the government for education provision. As this Ed2 from D2 explained:

...through the district council, the government provides money to buy industrial materials (iron sheets, cement, etc.). The community contributes cash and provides labour for making and collecting bricks, stones, gravels, sand, and roofing. That is the 80:20 split

The CDO from D1 had this to say:

...For school building, community members would build from the foundation stage to the lintel level and the government through the district council does the finishing using sector experts from the council.

In addition, communities also give plots of land for school buildings either as a voluntary contribution or sold at a low price.

Community members expressed similar views on the models of contribution for financing education for community development. They were clear about the part they played, indicating a sense of ownership, as this community member from D1 explained:

...when we were building our ward secondary school, we volunteered labour (collect stones, sand, gravel, make bricks, bake and carry them to the site, make the drainage system, build the foundation, fetch water) and contribute money.

²¹ Development grants — for construction of new classrooms and rehabilitation of infrastructures. This includes other buildings such as libraries, laboratories, toilets, assembly halls, teachers' houses, hostels. This grant is based on the development budget prepared in accordance with the council and school needs.

Another community member from D2 had similar views, implying a state of mutual responsibility for collective community development activities:

...we are in the process of building a school fence. Every community member must contribute cash and volunteer labour through *msaragambo*. That is how we work together.

Moreover, based on the idea that schools are community property, it is the responsibility of the community to make sure that the school and school facilities are protected. As this Ed2 from D2 said:

...villagers have to make sure that their schools and other school properties are well protected. It is their duty to pay school guards based on the community's arrangement with the village council and school administration.

Participants said that the payment for school guards and cooks are based on per individual child. As such, the duty of protecting school facilities is performed by parents who have children in a specific school. However, because of poverty in villages, participants felt that this task should be redirected to the government. They wondered whether school guards and cooks could be treated as government employees like other government civil servants. This community member from D2 described the difficulties encountered in performing these duties:

I have a child in a ward secondary school and others in primary school; apart from paying for their school needs and facilities, every year I have to pay more than Tshs.5,000/= for school guards. This is too much. The government could help relieve us of this burden.

The poverty levels of the populations in the two rural communities of the study are high with D1 at 86.3% and D2 at 79.1% (see URT, 2011b, p.19), where nationally it is 74.3% (URT, 2009c). Despite this, there is evidence that to a large extent people have positively responded to collaborating with the government for education and community development within their areas. However, the main challenge for the community is cash contribution. This observation was obvious in D1. Both the CDO and the local leaders admitted having a hard time collecting cash from community members despite them knowing that they had to contribute. It may be because poverty levels are too high in this community. On the other hand, as noted earlier, there seems to be a low value attached to both

education and collective working. Then again, it could be down to government failure in respect of policy and the implementation framework.

In D2 on the other hand, during *msaragambo* both labour and cash are contributed depending on the activity. In the lowlands area (which is becoming urban) however, people prefer to offer cash rather than labour because the majority of inhabitants are either employed or engaged in small businesses. Here the labour is converted to cash value so that people can continue with their daily activities. L1 from D2 explained:

...if we find that a certain activity will be complicated using labour (e.g. building this toilet), after discussing with community members we convert that activity into cash and pay people to work.

Such arrangements imply a degree of trust and reciprocity among villagers. It also simplifies leaders' work of supervising a large work group. However, it could also endanger the socio-cultural spirit of working together and the social web built between individuals through interaction in the social settings of *msaragambo*.

6.5.2 The extent of contributions from the GCP

There were some contradictions among the GCP actors regarding the extent of contributions for education provision. That is, although contributions from both actors (government and community) were clearly stated in official documents, it seems communities were not aware of, or were confused by what exactly they should offer as contributions. For example, the Ed2 from D1 said:

...The government has not been specific or clear about contributions. Some communities might build a classroom up to the lintel level while others may never even finish the foundation stage...

This suggests a non-transparent social working context with unequal power relations between actors. In a community like D1 with its poor attitudes towards work, what little incentive there was to participate in collective work could be under further threat.

Reviewing the evidence, it would seem that in D1 the government had played a large part in the building of the schools. Participants confirmed that sometimes

the leaders blame the victim, perhaps to avoid criticism of their inefficiency. Such a relationship might have been affected by a power structure where the power-holders decide the fate of the project and thereby use such power to free themselves from any wrongdoing (see also chapter 7). In this context the GCP may have lacked mutual and reciprocal relationships between the actors.

In other words, if the government had contributed enough for this community, as some participants said, there could be no shortage of school buildings in the district. For example, from the district and ward council notice board in D1, the figures for primary school buildings in 2010 showed a shortage of 590 classrooms, 760 teachers' houses, 1,592 toilets, and 328 offices. This explains the extent of the government's inefficiency in GCP working relationships, which has undermined trust in the government. It might also be an outcome of community reluctance to actively participate in collective work, which again is because of people's negative attitudes to collective work, or because of the government's unclear description of how should people contribute.

In D2 on the other hand, because of the awareness of the value of education as well as the enduring tradition of collective working, community contributions were described as higher than the government's. The findings show that grants from the government are very low for the completion of buildings. Thus, community voluntary contributions and the specific school's efforts are the most reliable sources for school buildings. For example, the shortage of primary school buildings in D2 in 2010 is not as big as it appeared in D1. The figures from the notice boards showed a shortage of 149 classrooms, 663 teachers' houses, 167 toilets, and 208 offices.

In addition, Ed3 described the amount schools received from the government, implying that community contribution were high:

...This year we received Tshs.24 millions for two grants for all 109 primary schools in the district. For capitation grant, each child got only Tshs.841/=. ...there is no way we can build and run schools without active mobilisation of community contributions. That is why I see community contributions as higher.

Tshs.841/= per child means each child received only about 1/10 of the grant s/he is supposed to get from PEDP. This again, which is also the case in D1,

indicates that the government has not played its part in the GCP contribution arrangement. It therefore raises questions, or rather challenges, about how to meet the goal of reducing poverty through education provided through GCP working relationships.

Furthermore, it should not be concluded that D2 is receiving less from the government than D1. Rather, as the findings suggest (both participants and documents from schools and offices), D2 has been utilising resources from influential people who belong to that community but live outside the district. Some schools in D2 also seem to have connections and strong external networks with charity groups from abroad. For example, during the fieldwork I observed students from abroad working collectively with community members building a classroom and dining hall in one of the community secondary schools (see appendix 9 photograph 9). Such networking relationships were based on linking social capital with international organisations to support the development of rural poor communities.

6.6 Participation patterns in terms of age group

Ideally, all community members were supposed to participate in collective activities and attend village general meetings. In both districts, members of each specific village (men and women) aged from 18 years old were expected to participate in all collective activities and gatherings. The elderly were exempted from these activities but were consulted for advice.

The participation pattern in this arrangement is divided into two age groups: (a) young people or early adulthood (18-40 years old), and (b) the elders or middle adulthood (41-60 years old) and late adulthood (60+). Findings from both district show that the latter group responded more positively towards community collective activities than the former. As this community member from D1 said:

...For young people, volunteerism and working together is something old-fashioned. In most of community development activities elders outnumber youths.

Another community member in the same district added:

...This group (young people) is so stubborn. They just don't want to maximise the free energy given by the almighty God.

Community members from D2 had similar views:

...Nowadays, in *msaragambo* only people aged 35+ participate fully. Below this age, they are not interested. They are busy with their daily business.

The findings indicate that the problem of non-participation is specifically related to young people. This group is seen as the most energetic, and thus expected to be active in collective work for the common good. It seems the spirit of community collective activities has not worked well with time and generations. This implies some weaknesses on the part of the government, in the education system or with elders and parents in the process of transferring norms and values of togetherness to the next generation. It also suggests a networking failure between old and younger generation, implying a lack of bridging social capital between them. Young people, in this context, could be tightly bonded in social capital terms amongst themselves with different networks and values, but poorly connected to elders and village traditions.

The challenge presented by young people not being active in collective activities is serious even in D2 where the socio-cultural tradition of working together seems to have played a significant part in the socio-economic development of the district. The participants associated this situation with the loss of *ujamaa* ethics in society, particularly for young people, as this community member from D2 explained:

...young people who have or are expecting to have children don't participate actively. Rather, it is the older people who don't have schoolchildren who are keen on collective development. I think the *ujamaa blood* is still in their body.

During the focus group discussion in D1, local leaders said:

...Mostly the old people understand issues of collective working better than the young do.

Perhaps it is because most of the old people either have experienced *ujamaa* values or have adopted some aspects from their own elders. As such, they are

still holding on to the norms and values of working together. Nevertheless, the dilemma remains as to why is it difficult [currently] to transfer such ethics to the next generation, while the elders [currently] have some values and norms adopted from their elders/ancestors. Perhaps, it is a cultural change from the traditional to the modern world. *Ujamaa* and associated dilemmas is a wide-ranging topic and is discussed further in chapter 9.

Furthermore, it was observed that the young people are affected by the economic situation in which, as findings show, their lives are becoming harder than their parents. This community member from D1 explained:

Most of young people are engaged in and value activities that facilitate their income, i.e., economic income-generating activities, just to fight against economic hardship.

Some of the reasons for hardship raised by participants from both districts include lack of employment schemes for young people, lack of small industries and companies, and the low money circulation level in the villages. In these circumstances, most of young people have chosen to move to the cities and towns searching for a better life (Ed2 from D2).

However, the crisis of unemployment particularly affects the uneducated rural poor for whom managing to earn enough from small businesses in the crowded cities and pay rent, might present a further big challenge. It would seem that there are no effective plans for job creation strategies. The risk of rural-urban migration is the loss of labour force in rural communities, which might endanger the community collective precept.

Furthermore, the argument that arises here is whether life is harder for the young people now than when the old were young, which is perhaps based on the general myth that life was better in the past. The fact that most of the old people were young when *ujamaa* was active might explain this situation. Maybe during those years life was also hard but the fact that people were made to live together and share wealth and perhaps poverty hardships as well, would have served to build social capital through reciprocity.

Government measures to encourage young people to stay and become involved in rural development need further investigation. Community members in D1 suggested that serious awareness raising was needed to encourage young people to participate in public and private activities. A similar suggestion was made during focus group discussion with the local leaders in D2:

...People are poor. They are just trying to survive. The government should facilitate the young people (18-35 years) staying - with loans maybe.

This is another challenge the government will have to deal with if GCP working is expected to provide quality social services and reduce poverty in rural areas. However, the participants blame the government for apparently forgetting people in rural areas, something that is likely to endanger the GCP working and rural development. Further suggestions to improve GCP in the current climate are discussed in chapter 9. Now the chapter turns to the discussion of the findings in the context of the literature and the theoretical framework.

6.7 Discussion of findings

This chapter has explored the context in which community participation is practised for education provision within the GCP. Although the findings have revealed a somewhat varying perspective between the districts regarding community participation and collective working, in both education was seen to play a significant role. This aligns with the worldwide recognition of education as a basic right for every individual in society as stipulated in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* of 1948 and the expected positive effects of education on employability, income level, wealth accumulation and social mobility. Essentially, there is no disagreement about the role of education in society, both as a foundation for the realisation of economic, social, political and cultural rights (United Nations, 2011, p.3), and as a basis for a better future (see Nyerere, 1967; World Bank, 1996; Omari, 1999; Malale, 2002; UNESCO, 2011b). Education, particularly quality education, can free individuals from extreme poverty.

In this context, community members are willing to participate in collective activities – sacrifice their energy, wealth and time to invest in education for

their children's future. As Brown (1991, p.55) explains, people make 'extraordinary efforts and sacrifices' to keep children in school believing that it will bring economic advancement. Most parents in developing countries have high expectations that as a result of their children going to school through primary, and secondary and on to tertiary level they will secure a good job, whether in government or in the private sector (Chambers, 2000, p.63).

Evidence from this study makes it clear that parents do not just send their children to school, they work hard building those schools. For example, in D2 where there is an inbuilt collective spirit and partnership working through the GCP, community members see education as an investment, consistent with UNESCO's (2003, p.5) statement that:

Investment in human capital, and by implication in education, has thus moved to centre stage in strategies to promote economic prosperity, fuller employment and social cohesion. As a result, education is increasingly considered an investment in the collective future of societies and nations.

Previous studies have also demonstrated that where community participation is strong there is educational development (Irira, 1977; Masudi, 1986; Galabawa and Ishumi, 1990; Makombe, 1992; Maduki, 1993; Mulengeki, 2004; Mlaki, 2005).

Participants believe that education has the economic power to free their children from extreme poverty. Despite this, a large proportion of the population (74.3%) continue to live in poor rural areas (URT, 2009c, p.94) and rural poverty in Tanzania, as in other developing countries, is increasing (Woods, 2008, p.428). This suggests that either education has not yet helped people or that children are not receiving the right education. The kind of education the children receive is an area that needs further investigation because the policy and practice of GCP seem to have concentrated on mobilising local people to build many schools but have not attended to the quality of education in those schools (see chapter 7).

GCP, viewed as a social phenomenon in relation to the theoretical framework developed in this study, demonstrates weak mutual relationships between the actors. There are missing relations in GCP caused by the lack of reciprocity of actions (Kadushin, 2012, p.21), which are essential in collective commitment. As

findings from D1 suggest, people have lost interest in investing in education because the schooling has not provided the children with opportunities for higher learning, with rural poverty levels worsening. From a network perspective, Putnam (2000) has argued that, where connections exist, capital is invested by actors with the expectation of decent returns from that investment. He assumes a high degree of connections and reciprocity, which seem to be missing in GCP working. Warner (2001, p.188) has warned of the impossibility of investing social capital at community level where there is weak reciprocity and argues that it is the role of government through local authorities to set structures that allow the creation of social capital (bonding and bridging), which is important for community mobilisation. This is possible if the government reciprocates actions and extends its networks to local communities. Without that, local people become demoralised and give up working collectively.

Unfortunately, as noted in D1, government officials, instead of facilitating local people to build the missing social ties, perhaps by allowing the weak ties or holes between actors to function and thereby connect the disconnected social groups in society (Burt, 1992; Bienzle *et al.*, 2007), they blame people and label them as ‘lazy’ and disinterested in work. Such comments are based on a flawed premise. Rather, the findings indicate that the government has not fulfilled its obligation in the partnership resulting in unhealthy social working relationships where the government (obviously the power-holder) blames the victims, a defence to avoid criticism for their failure in implementing policy (see also Chambers, 2000).

In this context, the government may be described as being inefficient in both policy and implementation. Despite abolishing primary school fees and making it compulsory for parents to send their children to school (see URT, 1995a, 2001b), the evidence shows that children are not moving beyond primary education, or at best reaching junior secondary education level. For example, in the 2012 Form Four National examination the failure rate was 61% (Twaweza, 2013). This level is a preparation or foundation stage and cannot ensure employment opportunities, suggesting that GCP working relationships have not been functioning at the level local people expected. Unless there are genuine GCP relationships, abolishing school fees would not be sufficient for education provision of the children of the rural poor villages (see UNESCO, 2010a). Rather,

a supportive environment is needed based on reciprocity and a responsive government to ensure that investing in community social capital would yield significant impact.

The evidence from D2 indicates strong internal and external networks based on social interactions through *msaragambo*, which indicate the existence of bonding and linking social capital at a local level. However, it seems local people have limited networks with the government, suggesting a lack of bridging social capital. In community collective activities, if all stocks of social capital were employed concurrently they would yield significant results for rural development. Bonding social capital alone (like that built through the tradition of *msaragambo*) is not sufficient for rural people to achieve their goals. Both bridging and linking social capital are necessary for the community to be able to access resources, exchange information and acquire support (see Warner, 2001; Bienzle *et al.*, 2007). For genuine partnership working, the government will have to allow and encourage the flow of all network ties between actors, and consider maintaining the social relations built in *msaragambo*. Without this support, as Coleman (1990, p.321) suggests, committed people's expectations and obligations are likely to fade and disappear.

Another important observation from the findings on unreciprocated actions due to government inefficiency in the GCP working, is the lack of employment among young people, which has increased the rural-urban poverty gap (see also RAWG, 2008; Ishumi *et al.*, 2009). The RAWG (2008, p.xv) revealed that more people are reported to be worse off now than three years previously, with growing inequality between rich and poor. The findings here suggest that this has led to rural-urban migration where young people search for 'green pastures' in cities and towns. This movement has an effect on community participation and GCP working and the sense of collectivism among people. Collective manual work needs the energy of young people whereas most villages are left with old people, which is unhealthy for rural community development based on joint effort.

The problem is, as Ishumi (1984, p.15) argues, that there is a one-way rural-urban migratory venture rather than the social mobility of a rural-urban-rural movement which would ensure villages had the labour force they need for

collective community development. As the findings suggest, villages in rural areas have nothing to offer young people for a living because of the lack of established industries and companies or productive agricultural activities. The movement, especially the urban-rural one challenges established network ties in rural villages because the migrants (newcomers as noted in this study) find it difficult to cope with the rural collective working social relationships.

Experience shows that the nature of network ties in modern societies operating in an open system are restrictive when it comes to allowing new actors to join (Castells, 2010; Kadushin, 2012) and cannot compensate rural collective development for the loss of important and energetic actors (young people). Castells (2010) suggests it is important that new actors share the same societal values and goals. As noted in D2 the newcomers could not internalise the societal norms and values present in existing networks and this has affected the collective working spirit. Perhaps the GCP has lacked a defined nature of ties involved in the network structures. Kadushin (2012, p.23-4) warned of the complexity of network ties as the number of members increases even though new members may add some advantages, or become a broker. While extending ties is expected to increase support and resources through information exchange (Bienzle *et al.*, 2007), the newcomers in the GCP have threatened the existing solidarity and social capital.

The findings on young people moving to the towns and cities looking for a better life aligns with other research findings (Southall and Gutkind, 1956; Mitchell, 1959; Ishumi, 1984; Siddiqi, 2004) that people escape from troubles to look for a better standard of living through paid jobs. However, the evidence suggests that cities and other urban areas suffer from unemployment. The International Labour Organisation (ILO) (2010, p.4) reinforces this point:

Many people face open unemployment due to the failure of the economy to create many jobs to absorb the new entrants to the labour market, including those who migrate from rural areas.

In addition, the ILO has reported that the situation of unemployment among young people in urban areas is critical and higher than in rural areas. In other words, while rural areas are losing their labour force for collective work because of 'rural-urban migration', urban areas are also suffering, with the jobless young

people susceptible to illegal and risky activities. Without considering that agriculture is no longer a dependable income for the rural poor people, the government assumed that people would continue to work in agricultural activities. Irregular seasons coupled with a lack of farming techniques and poor farming tools (98% of peasants in rural Tanzania still use a hand hoe for agricultural production (URT, 2011b, p.29) means that the contribution of crops from agriculture to the country's GDP is still minimal (0.1% per year) (URT, 2009c, p.127). Unless government policy is targeted at improving agricultural conditions and creating job opportunities in rural areas, any kind of education provision will increase urban drifting.

Furthermore, while most jobs in the city rely on merits depending on the kind of education the individual received, the rural-urban migrants (young people) have graduated from rural-community schools with poor pass rates compared to other government or public schools and private schools (Rose, 2003b). The opportunities for employment are minimal for young people even if they use indirect contacts (weak ties) with government or private sectors. In other words, the theory of weak ties (Granovetter, 1973) or non-redundant ties (Burt, 1992) that help people through informal or indirect networks to acquire information leading to jobs, might not work in circumstances where people lack the relevant education.

The social impact of rural-urban movement includes the decline of strong ties built in rural areas which are essential for reinforcing reciprocity and help to mobilise solidarity among actors (see Putnam, 2000; Schuller *et al.*, 2000). This suggests that the networks between young and old generations have been lost along the way. Old people might have failed to transmit the values and norms of the social web to the young. In this case, the younger generation might be bound by a different set of cultural values that define their world, suggesting a networking failure for collective work in a broader context. As Skidmore *et al.* (2006, p.6) argue, although the 'already well-connected group get better connected', the guarantee that the wider community feel the benefit of such connections is low. Moreover, the problem might be in the system, particularly the governance of policy-making, implementation and the extent to which all actors are genuinely involved. This is discussed in chapter 7.

Another key aspect in GCP working relationships is the financing of education. Some of the UNESCO reports have stated clearly that in most developing countries, real growth in education spending has been higher than economic growth (2011b, p.11). Education expenditure in the past ten years has risen by 6% annually (2011a, p.3). In Tanzania, the budget allocated to the education sector has risen from 12% between the 1980s and 1995, up to 22% in the 2009/10 financial year (URT, 2009d, p.47). The demand for education in society is higher, and explains the key role education plays in individuals' lives and community development in general. However, despite this increase in the education budget, many developing countries still have a long way to go to achieve quality education (UNESCO, 2011a). Public education in developing countries is still affected by financial constraints coupled with weak capacity for public resource collection (UNESCO, 2011a, p.19).

In this study GCP, like other partnerships, is meant to mutually pool resources to provide education, especially for the majority poor in rural communities. Working in partnership has been perceived as the best solution for socio-economic problems (see Bray, 2000b, 2003; United States Agency for International Development (USAID), 2007; Zacchaeus, 2007) and in various international conferences, it has remained a persistent topic (WCEFA, 1990; UNESCO, 1994; International Consultative Forum, 1996; Bray, 2000b). Indeed, partnership working increases the capacity for widening and increasing the participation of different layers of stakeholders in financing the system (Dhillon, 2009), which put it at the heart of most social processes (WCEFA, 1990).

The process of financing education through GCP, as this study reveals, goes beyond monetary inputs to include materials, labour, expertise and land provided by both community and government (see also Bray, 1996, p.3). Since inputs for education provision would have to be purchased if communities did not provide them, they are considered substitutes for cash (Bray, 1996). In this study, it has been shown that while government provides cash to buy industrial materials, community members contribute cash, materials (such as stone, gravel, sand, timber, bricks, land) and volunteer labour. Working in such relationships in Tanzania has a historical basis since *ujamaa*. As also noted in D2, local initiatives through the socio-cultural tradition of working together (*msaragambo*) have played a significant role in GCP.

However, in most cases, talking about partnership working is easier than its practice (Bray, 2000b). That is, as the number of actors increases in a partnership (three or more, like GCP), the more complex the relationships become (Kadushin, 2012). Most of the complexities are caused by the varying interests that actors have in the partnership. In order to avoid complexities, it is useful to consider principles of partnership (McQuaid, 2000) (see figure 3.4 & 3.5). For example, McQuaid suggests that partners must have a mutual agreement on the purpose of partnership and the nature of actors involved. The evidence from this study shows that the GCP did not provide clear explanations regarding the purpose and scope of contributions. Participants expressed their confusion on what they should contribute for school buildings, as one Ed2 from D1 said ‘the government has not been specific or clear about contributions’. If the GCP had genuinely involved all actors in goal setting and were transparent, there might have been no misunderstanding. Confusion about the role of each actor would have been minimised and power relations defined (see McQuaid, 2000; Pinkus, 2005). Pinkus (2005) also found that lack of transparency in procedures due to unequal power relations between actors, reduced commitment and accountability.

In this context, GCP might be disqualified as a ‘partnership’. Rather it is merely a participation or involvement of local people in pre-determined developmental activities. That is, while partners share responsibilities, people who are only participating, as Bray (2000b, p.5) explains, are merely co-operating in somebody else’s activity. In other words, as Slake (2004) demonstrates, some partners in GCP, particularly local people, are rather ‘unreal partners’. Perhaps their rights in partnership are overlooked by the powerful dominant group, obviously the government, or powerless partners are deliberately excluded from agenda setting (see McQuaid, 2000, p.22). In such an unequal relationship, as other researchers also noted (Molm *et al.*, 2007), it is doubtful that strong bonds and commitment among actors can be expected while reciprocal relations have been undermined. The next chapter examines the politics of decision-making and power relations in GCP working relationships.

Chapter 7

Micro-Politics of Decision-Making and Implementation in GCP

7.1 Introduction

Despite the district communities working hard in varying degrees for educational development, as demonstrated in the previous chapter, children's schooling and progression to further learning is still disappointing. From the perspectives of those in the districts, GCP policy and plans appeared to give more importance to school buildings than to other important aspects of educational provision. The GCP appeared to be a complicated partnership, within which actions were not being reciprocated. It is important therefore to turn our attention to policy and implementation processes to identify and analyse some of the political tensions (the 'politics'²²) behind the policy-making and implementation processes within the GCP working relationships. This chapter addresses research question 2 (*In what ways does the government involve local communities in education and community development activities?*). Through the theoretical lens of networking ties and social capital, the purpose is to examine the involvement of the actors in the GCP relationship in the decision-making processes related to community development.

In principle, policy-making is a political process that involves various stakeholders including community members at local levels (OECD, 2001; Osman, 2002; Irvin and Stansbury, 2004; Mosha, 2006; Birkland, 2011). That means, in a contemporary democratic world, allowing members of the community to have a say in decisions regarding their lives is crucial for collective community development (Woodford and Preston, 2011, p.2). However, since partnership working is a complex social phenomenon with multiple and diversified interests and values of actors within the partnership's power structures, arriving at common decisions is a big challenge (McQuaid, 2000; Castells, 2011).

²² Politics is a process by which societies help to figure out how to organise and govern themselves. It is political because of its location in the public sphere, where decisions are made by the public to address issues that affect people in communities. Politics can be advantageous if it is honestly played to benefit society. It determines who gets what, when and how they get it (Birkland, 2011. p4-6). The concept of politics in this study is associated with political activities in society.

The first section of this chapter (7.2) examines the theory and practice of the policy-making process by comparing official documents with the experiences of those on the ground (the participants) with reference to, for example, how or whether local actors air their views before decisions and their implementation, or whether the process is controlled by the dominant powerful actors. In particular, participants referred disparagingly to the characteristics and practices of their elected representatives (the politicians) operating within a multi-party system. Despite being the main actors in inspiring and mobilising local people for community development, they were seen as manipulating people and misusing power for their own personal benefit (section 7.3). The GCP can, in that case, be seen to be working in an unhealthy social environment with disconnected network ties amongst actors.

The chapter then presents an analysis of the extent to which the elected representatives (politicians or decision-makers) involve local people in planning for the implementation of policies in GCP for education provision (section 7.4). Again, this section compares the ideal picture as it appears in official documents, with the reality from the participants' perspectives. Implementation appears to be as top-down as the policy-making for community development activities. Such a social working relationship has affected the quality of education available to children in rural areas (section 7.5). Finally, the chapter presents a detailed discussion of the findings, integrating them with the literature and the theoretical framework (7.6).

7.2 Theory versus practice in the GCP policy-making process: 'we are the implementers'

A consideration of the policy²³ formulation process in GCP is necessary to determine the extent to which education and community development actors at local levels are involved. For example, the *Tanzania Development Vision 2025*, upon which socio-economic development of the country was based, was formulated in the following manner:

²³ The participants used the term policy to refer to any government document that guided their daily actions including policy, reforms, programmes and plans. Therefore, the term policy in this study will also include plans.

...through a team of experts appointed from various sectors, people's participation was advocated from the early stages of exercise through symposia, interviews and dialogue with various people, and meetings, which brought together people from various social settings from society. The mass media was also closely involved through articles in newspapers, debates and discussions in radio and television programmes (URT, 1999, p.ix-x).

Although what actually happened and how much weight was given to non-expert views is still controversial, the process implies the circumstances where decisions reached for the development of a national vision included a diversity of views from various groups including the local people in rural areas. It also mirrors a democratic political participation in reaching decisions about national development. In Arnstein's ladder of participation, this process can be placed in the 'citizen power' level (see figure 3.1). Thus, it can be assumed that this is how policies and reforms are supposed to be formulated. However, participants' responses suggest that this was not the case because their experiences in the policy-making process expressed a high demand of involvement. For example, community development official (CDO) from D2 said:

Unfortunately, [we] at the grassroots level are not well involved in the decision-making process. ...yes, not all people can participate, but I have never seen when people are involved. We always receive readymade policies and directives.

The Ed3 from the same district added:

I am not sure who is involved there but we are the implementers. Policies come from the Ministry; we implement. That is how it works.

Participants from D1 expressed something similar, demanding people's involvement in the process. For example, Ed2 said 'people in rural areas should have a say on policy decisions'. Also during a focus group discussion in the same district, local leaders said:

...Let the process take place first. Give lower levels opportunity to provide their views before decision and implementation, because once the decision has been made, it is a policy that cannot change.

These findings have demonstrated the significance of local people's views, knowledge and experiences to be included in the policy documents. The findings show that local people's power is limited to implementation of predetermined

decisions. This implies that the decision-making process is a non-participatory practice that is based on a top-down approach whereby a few top-level officials and the power-holders decide the fate of developmental activities for others – the powerless majority, the implementers of policies. It indicates that GCP works in an environment that is controlled by the dominant powerful actors rather than a mutual social interaction. This, in a network context, shows that in decision-making processes the networking ties are limited to within the top officials or power-holders, without being linked to local networks for consultation purposes and effective collective working of GCP.

Furthermore, it was assumed (as participants also expressed) that the changes in the political system from single-party to multi-party politics in 1992 would be a step towards the democratic participation of all individuals, with all individuals gaining access to an opportunity to air their views on decisions for their development regardless of party affiliation, economic status or position. However, the participants have not yet observed any difference in the way decisions on policies are reached. They felt that national decisions and policies are still determined by the ruling party. Ed2 from D2 explained:

...country policies originate from party policy directives/manifesto. The ruling party directives are sent to the central government for discussion, then they are forwarded to the district for implementation.

In addition, while community members and local leaders viewed the decision-making process as based on ‘political pressure’ (perhaps due to what was noted earlier about top officials having their own network power), participants who are government officials (employees) described this process as ‘political proposal’. They claimed that ideas from the ruling party are discussed and digested before the final decision. In this case, as will be discussed later in this chapter, it might be that the people who discuss and digest the party ideas to be included in policy decision-making come from both the party and the government. In other words, since the majority of ordinary local people seem to be non-partners in the policy-making process or in Arnstein’s ladder of participation belong in a ‘non-participation’ level (see figure 3.1), it is possible that the same people in the government, and probably in the ruling party forum, propose the idea, and discuss, digest and make decisions about it. Ordinary

people in this context, despite being key actors, are passive participants who carry out the predefined decisions and roles whether they are relevant to their development or not. In such circumstances, the quality of the theory and that of practice are likely to follow different directions.

If the policy-making process is the result of the ruling party's manifesto without the views of other actors including ordinary people being included, it is important to find out the characteristics of the elected representatives (the politicians) in a multi-party system, and the extent to which they inspire local people to become involved in community development.

7.3 'Inspiring and mobilising' or 'manipulating': GCP political tensions

Having many political parties (multi-party system), as explained above, people expected a more egalitarian practice for community development activities because, ideally, multi-party politics allows a democratic participation of the majority of the population in making decisions about their lives (Nyirabu, 2002). However, some politicians, having access to political power, seem to have acted inefficiently in community development and misused such power, as this community member from D1 explained:

I think all political parties have good guidelines for the country's development. The problem is individual(s) leaders who use politics for their own benefits.

A school committee member in D2 had similar views:

The multi-party system has good intentions for development, but the problem is the people who are after power. They don't fulfil their promises. ...local people tend to believe their leaders especially when the promises sound useful.

This means politicians value their personal interests more than they value those of the communities. A working relationship of this nature implies a doubt in local people's trust of politicians who seem to be driven by individualistic instincts. That is perhaps why, during focus group discussion, community members from D1 remarked:

We thought politics should promote development but the way we see in our villages, politics and politicians are the barriers toward development.

This implies that local people are disillusioned by voting for such people having believed that they will be accountable and responsive to community needs. The findings have shown clearly that the public perception of politicians is that their priority is driven by actions designed to protect their political power. Ideally, politicians are expected to cooperate with people in achieving policy goals for communal benefit. The Community Development Policy pointed to politicians as among the main actors in the community development process with their roles clearly stated (URT, 1996, p.34-5):

...Politicians within communities are useful in uniting people's efforts to bring about community development. ...They are useful in inspiring and mobilising people, kindling their aspirations to develop and helping in the preparation of plans and mobilisation of the resources of communities, the government and those of donor agencies in pursuit of community development.

Such a statement implies the significant leadership roles of the politicians at local level. To perform such a role effectively there is a need for strong and genuine network ties with mutual interests between politicians and local people. However, as noted earlier, genuine network relationships would prevent the individualistic actions of most politicians. The statement also reflects the circumstances whereby community development is somewhat limited to the mobilisation of local people for collective work rather than a bottom-up empowerment process (see chapter 8).

Politicians in this study were viewed as working against the principles of their roles as stated in the policy document. Ed2 from D2 remarked:

...politicians (the councillors), whether elected or appointed from any political party, are supposed to be responsible for the development of their constituency, rather than manipulating people for their own benefits.

This indicates the extent to which the participants are not empowered enough to challenge the politicians who are not performing their roles as required. In other words, the community development process could not enable local people

to be a counter force to the political establishment. There seem to be problems in the power structure which, in this context, silences the powerless. This implies that GCP is practised in an unhealthy working environment which lacks mutual social relationships.

It is unfortunate that politicians seem to have good plans for election campaigns but a poor framework for implementation of those plans. Participants said that promises preached by politicians during campaigns, expected to be accomplished in five years of their political leadership, are, in fact, manipulative. L2 from D1 explained:

During campaigns, politicians offer many promises to be completed within five years, but three years may pass without implementing any of the promises. As a result, local leaders are pressurised to mobilise people to rush to implement projects before the next election campaign.

This again explains the lack of commitment and accountability among the politicians. Politicians' actions might be premeditated. Their intentions seem to be based on personal gain rather than mutual communal sharing. The next sections analyses the extent to which such political tensions have affected or facilitated the implementation of education and community development policies in GCP working.

7.4 Implementing policy in GCP framework: 'education provision'

While policies for community development are arrived at without the voices of the implementers or local people, as noted earlier, most of government documents suggest active participation of all stakeholders including community members in the implementation process (see URT, 1995a, 1996, 1999, 2001a, 2001b, 2004, 2007c). Some of the statements from the selected government documents include:

The Education and Training Policy (ETP) (URT, 1995a) which invited various groups for partnership working in the provision of education. The policy states:

...enhancement of partnership in the provision of education and training, through the deliberate efforts of encouraging private agencies to participate in providing education; to establish and manage schools and other educational institutions at all levels (p.xii).

For primary education, the ETP states:

Primary education shall be universal and compulsory to all children. Its establishment, ownership and management shall be liberalized. Government shall set and establish standard infrastructure and facilities for primary schools necessary for effective delivery of and acquisition of good quality education (p.36-7).

For secondary education, the ETP states:

...Urban, district, town, municipal, city councils and authorities, NGOs, communities, individuals and public institutions shall be given incentives to establish, own, manage and administer at least one secondary school in each Ward (*Kata*) in their areas of jurisdiction (p.40).

Although the policy recognises the need for collaboration in the provision of education, it did not explain directly how local people would be involved in planning for implementation. Therefore, in 1996 the Education Sector Development programme (ESDP) was introduced to implement ETP. Both the Primary Education Development Plan (PEDP) and the Secondary Education Development Plan (SEDP) (URT, 2001b, 2004) are outcomes of ESDP aiming to:

Decentralize the management of institutions so as to devolve more powers of managing and administering education and training to regions, districts, communities and educational/training institutions (URT, 2001a, p.5).

In ESDP, all school development plans are initiated by the school through village councils:

The school is the lowest and the initial planning unit. Each school and each education institution is required to prepare its own education development plan. The next planning unit is the ward, a synthesis of school development plans in that ward. Next is the district, a synthesis of ward education development plans in the district. The bottom-up hierarchical planning process continues to the national level but in line with National guidelines to match grassroots development with National interests (URT, 2001a, p.10-11).

In addition, the Tanzania Development Vision 2025 suggests the need for the implementation of vision and other plans to involve local people:

...create an open and democratic society that provides equal opportunity to every person in society. Local people know their problems best and are better placed to judge what they need, what is possible to achieve and how it can effectively be achieved (URT, 1999, p.28).

These statements emphasise management, administration and ownership of schools and the community development process by the local people. Again, as noted earlier, local people in the process appeared in a passive partners' position despite leaders' knowledge that local people understand well their problems – as stated in policies. It seems that procedures for implementation of policies are as top-down as the decision-making process of those policies.

In 2002, following the ESDP as a framework for implementing ETP in the Local Government Reform Programme (LGRP), a more straightforward approach was initiated to facilitate local people in planning, implementing, and owning community plans. The aim was to shift community planning from top-down to bottom-up through the 'Opportunities and Obstacles to Development' (O&OD) approach (URT, 2009b, p.1). In theory, through O&OD, local authorities have power and authority to identify, decide, plan and execute community development activities within their areas of jurisdiction. The following sections examine the participants' views and experiences about the modality of planning for implementation of policies in GCP framework and in relation to the ideal as stated in official documents.

7.4.1 Planning procedures for implementation: bottom-up model?

As stated above, the purpose of O&OD is to give the local people opportunities to identify their own problems, or the obstacles to the development of their villages, and to prioritise them (URT, 2009b). Local leaders from D2, during a focus group discussion, explained how they participate in planning for implementation:

...during general meetings we identify problems, forward them to the Ward Development Council (WDC), who approve and include them into

ward priorities development plans. These priorities are forwarded to the district council to be re-prioritised before implementation.

The Ed2 from D1 described similar procedures with examples based on educational projects:

...We receive proposals with a list of priorities – teachers' houses, classrooms, or toilets, from the community through the WDC and Ward Executive Officer (WEO). We then cooperate with the district council to discuss community's proposals and the selected priorities are included into the district action plan and sent to the Ministry for approval and budgeting.

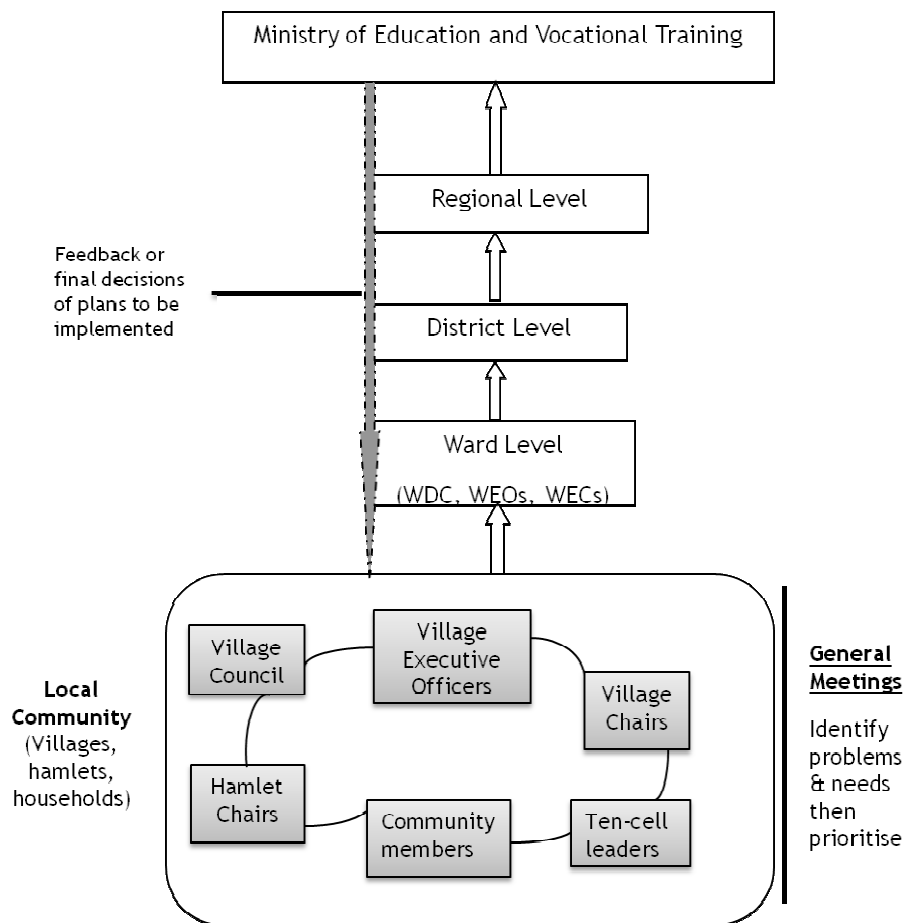
Such planning procedures suggest that although local people identify problems that are considered as obstacles to their development, and the district councils have the power to alter and select some priorities to form action plans. As this CDO from D2 confirmed:

When we are sent to villages for community development plans, we go there just to confirm and compare the villages' priorities and those of the district, which mostly are based on the policy.

If community development activities are planned in this manner, there is the possibility of the community's priorities to not matching those of the district. The most overarching issue is that the district priorities (although some might resemble the community's) are derived from the policy or government plans, which were decided in the absence of the community's views. It could have been healthy if only ideas and demands from villages were authentically passed up the line without political influence and bureaucracy in arriving at decisions.

Figure 7.1 below represents the planning system based on priorities as revealed by participants. It shows some existing connections among local people working collectively. The efficiency of this system demonstrates how the processes of identifying priorities are enacted at local levels and the people who actually hold power, are crucial points in examining the reality of a bottom-up system for planning community development activities.

Figure 7.1: The bottom-up planning system for implementation: ‘people’s priorities’



The downward gray arrow in figure 7.1 indicates the process whereby priorities are sent as feedback to community for implementation through district councils and wards. This means that while plans or priorities, as shown by the upward arrows from the village to the Ministry, flow from the bottom, the final decision about plan(s) to be implemented is decided at the top with regard to the budget available and the policy in place. As participants expressed, although final decisions flow from the Ministry, the district seems to have more power in deciding what should appear in the action plan. The Regional level, participants said, is just a rubber-stamp of the defined action plans.

Based on the figure above and its implication for planning procedures, the process seems to lack transparency and accountability, as local people and their leaders are asked to identify problems that might not be included in implementation plans. Local people are disillusioned or manipulated by the powerful actors to think that they have power over their development. In

network terms, there seem to be strong network ties among the top officials in making decisions, which is reciprocated only during implementation.

In figure 7.1, WDC seems to be an important organ for community development activities at local levels. It looks like an organ where the network ties between the top and local levels can be compromised and form a strong network based on common goals. When I asked participants about the nature of members involved in WDC, they mentioned 'Ward Education Coordinators (WECs); Wards/Village Executive Officers (WEOs/VEOs); and experts from various sectors including school heads and other representatives invited from the community. In addition, in one of the WDC meetings I attended in D2, politicians from various political parties at ward level were also WDC members. The ward councillor (a politician) chairs the WDC.

However, the WDC structure seems to exclude the village, hamlet and ten-cell leaders who are responsible for organising general meetings in which the task of identifying community problems and needs is being conducted. In this case, the practicality of general meetings is questionable. It indicates that the top officials have their own decision-making networks which are different from those of the local people, whilst, the implementation of those decisions is expected to be based on collectivism. This also raises questions about the distribution of power among actors and the reality of GCP working. In this working relationship, it is difficult to identify the nature of network ties at local community level where general meetings are conducted.

Community members participating in focus group discussions explained what happens in general meetings:

During general meetings, leaders explain the breakdown of the projects. Here we have to agree and bless the project before implementation (D2).

In reality, leaders just tell us about the planned activity or project and procedures for implementation. What they need from us is contributions – labour, materials or cash (D1).

It seems the main duty of local people in such important meetings is to approve the planned project and agree on the contributions needed. Again, people here

are passive with little or no opportunity to provide their opinions for project implementation. That means people must agree with government plans, as community members from D1 during focus group discussion added:

...why should we disagree? In fact, everything brought to us by our leaders we tend to agree. It is for our development.

When the local people agree everything from their leaders, it does not mean that they are happy with the decisions, rather that they might be bound by a culture of holding a belief that leaders have the final say. L2 from D1 confirmed the community members' claims:

...There is nothing like our opinions. When the agenda comes from central government, our duty is to call meetings and explain the activity to be implemented and the kind of contributions needed from people. It is a kind of pressure. Ward secondary schools are good example

L1 from D2 added:

...No, they don't ask people's views. Rather, they plan everything in their office and send for implementation. They decide what and how things should be done.

A school committee member from D2 said:

From my experience, I have never participated in such a thing. We receive information/directives but we don't participate in deciding on what and how to do.

This shows that even the local leaders who are expected to represent the community are not part of planning and decision-making. Again, the general meeting, which seems to be the most democratic social gathering for collective decisions at local levels, appears fictional. One would think that general meetings would feature in a community with a high level of bonding social capital based on strong network ties.

In fact, general meetings don't happen by chance. They are included in the ward action plans (Ed3 from D1), as shown in figure 7.1, and are normally held at village levels. However, as explained in chapter 6, attendance at general meetings is very low, which has affected the community development process

which needs collective decisions. During fieldwork, I attended one of the general meetings in D1 intended to identify needs and reach a collective decision about plans for the year 2011. Unfortunately, very few people (15 out of 700) appeared at that meeting. Through informal discussion with people and local leaders at the meeting, three reasons for the decline of attendance were identified.

Firstly, the distance to the meeting point was considered too far and a barrier. Two hamlets were supposed to meet at the centre of the village to come up with village plans for 2011. However, people would have walked and attended only if what they prioritised was going to be part of the final plans. This means the meetings were no longer useful to them.

Secondly, political activities meddled with planning for village action plans. This meeting and, as other interviews revealed, community development activities are usually postponed to allow politicians to conduct political campaigns and sell their promises. In Tanzania, political campaigns are conducted every five years. This means that a year before election politicians have to resume their political manipulation process through election campaigns.

Thirdly, the timing of village meetings was also associated with politics since community development activities were resumed after general elections. By the time local leaders begin to hold meetings, community members were already engaged in *shamba* work at the time of the rainy season. Agriculture is still the most reliable source of income and livelihood in rural villages, though it is hand-to-mouth.

Here, it is obvious that the village government will decide the priorities on behalf of the community, which might not include the real community's needs. In this case, community members have missed their opportunity to come together and democratically identify their problems, discuss, prioritise, plan and agree the mode of implementation. This is an outcome of political manipulation/corruption. Maybe general meetings are just a token to cover the wrongdoing of top officials. As one Ed3 in D2 commented, 'general meetings are more theoretical and people are no longer interested because of the disappointments from the politicians'. Despite a strong tradition of *msaragambo* among the D2 people, when it comes to 'politics' the tradition seems to be

unpractical. Local people are becoming powerless to decide on their own development.

7.4.2 GCP and political tensions in implementing policy: 'fatalistic feelings and disempowerment'

Figure 7.1 started as a way of showing the bottom-up procedures in implementing community development activities. However, as observed from the findings, it is a bottom-up planning with a top-down decision. The problem is not only how activities were planned, but also that the implementation of those plans made people feel useless, powerless and lacking in confidence. For example, the CDO from D1 said:

If only the implementation could have been as good as the planning, things could have been superb.

L2 from D2 said:

No matter how good or bad policies and plans are, they are difficult to implement at local levels.

There seemed to be a lack of an implementation framework for the decisions reached. This has caused many challenges to implementing policies for community development at local levels that depend on GCP working. In this context, both actors and actions in the GCP are disconnected and unreciprocated, and local people appeared powerless and had fatalistic feelings. This may have lead them to despair about collective working which seemed unhealthy to rural community development. Participants' experiences in both districts signalled five challenges that block local people from breaking out of feelings of powerlessness and building networks as well as social capital to challenge the power-holders:

Firstly, the government was found to be an inefficient actor, one that does not act according to the GCP arrangement. L2 from D2 explained:

We had a plan to build a school where the government was supposed to send teachers. We completed the building but the government has not yet allocated teachers. A year has gone without achieving our goals.

A school head from D2 said:

The government is collaborating with us in words, not practice. That is why people view this as 'politics'. ...They want to shine on stages that they have done this and that for community. In reality NO

The GCP in this case appears to be a complicated partnership working where theory is far from practice and local people appear as actors who are too powerless to question the inefficiency of the powerful actor. It might be possible that the plans were not realistic enough to achieve the goals. It might also be the politics of community development activities and government officials' negligence of local problems. A situation like this deters local people from participating in collective works and is likely to endanger any existing networks and social capital.

Secondly, the majority of participants from D1 who participated in interviews and group discussions mentioned the misuse of resources (funds and materials) contributed for school projects implementation, as one of the factors that put them off active participation. They expressed how politics have affected the implementation of projects, e.g. a school toilet. They said they could not build the toilet because politicians were involved in the process. In one of the focus group discussions, community members said:

...Funds and materials offered by the MP, and community contributions for the toilet construction, mysteriously disappeared.

Community members went further to express how they were demoralised about leaders' misconduct:

We know that without toilets our children's health is at risk. Let them close the school, but we cannot contribute more while leaders have misused the money we contributed.

During a focus group discussion, local leaders from the same district expressed how lack of power has prevented them from questioning other powerful leaders and politicians:

...some buildings have cracks because of fake contractors, but we have no say about that.

Such a working environment implies a sense of distrust among community members towards their leaders, particularly politicians (chapter 9 talks further about trust). In this situation, community members might be deterred from contributing not only cash and materials, but also their labour. Such an unhealthy and threatening social working environment had a significant effect on the schooling and quality of education the community members expected for their children's future economic life.

Thirdly, inconsistency of plans: this was associated with politics and a government failure to adhere to the original plan as well as ignoring professional or technical ideas before arriving at a decision for implementation. A school head from D1 explained the situation with an example:

...government strategic plan was that by 2009 every ward should have its own secondary school, but in 2006, some wards had three secondary schools. ...They don't even seek technical ideas from professionals.

This shows how government plans are unrealistic. However, building many schools could be advantageous to local people. However, on the contrary, participants felt that some of those schools were useless. In fact, community members wished there could be schools with dormitories instead of just lots of schools. Ed1 from D1 explained the reality:

...it is true, one village in this district has three secondary schools where one of them had only 7-9 students. It had to be closed. It would have been better if there was a boarding school as the community proposed.

Here plans did not consider the catchment areas and expenses to run those schools. It explains how top officials had ignored local people's demands and technical ideas before commencing the building process. As participants explained, the interest of planners and politicians was to shine on the stages, announcing the number of schools built. This has implications for the quality of education, which affects rural development (see section 7.5). Such resources could have been used to build dormitories or hostels, rather than building unnecessary schools. As noted earlier, the main problem might be the fact that education provision for politicians had its focus on the quantity of schools rather

than a commitment to both quality and quantity for rural development. That is to say, the source of the problem is in the system, how policies are constructed.

Fourth, the lack of communication networks which confused the understanding of policy at local levels. The majority of local leaders and education officials including school heads participating in this study complained that the government expects them to implement policies relying on policy documents, which are not only difficult to understand but also normally not easily accessible. A school head from D1 explained:

If I don't understand well about the policy, how about ordinary people? I don't even know what policy or syllabus we are using now because there have been so many of them and they are not understood. They just confuse us.

Again, since leaders at local levels are excluded from the decision-making process, they seem to lack knowledge of the policies and plans they are supposed to mobilise people and resources to implement. As a result, they lose power as leaders to confidently organise and lead development activities. This undermines the essence of community development, which works well when local leaders are independent, supported and trained (chapter 8 provides details). Ed2 from D1 said:

The problem is that some issues come from the government without our knowledge and we are supposed to implement them while involving people.

Ed3 from D2 added:

...It happens sometimes when we are reading these documents. If they are not understood the DEO says, *'I don't know, it just came like that, we have to implement it'*.

Situations like this make the possibility of local people trying to implement either non-implementable or irrelevant projects.

Fifth, participants were concerned with the economic dependency culture of the country. The majority of local leaders involved felt that the decisions about plans or projects to be implemented are reached out of pressure from donors from whom large amounts of funding is expected. Ed2 from D1 explained:

I think when the government commenced these plans (e.g., SEDP) they expected support from donors. Maybe the support was not realised at the expected time and level. Hence, they would not be sufficient to accomplish projects, or there was no support at all, or the support could not last any longer and there were no strategies for takeover or sustainability.

A school head from D2 talked about dependency and poverty:

...poverty is the worst thing in society. A poor country will have to follow whatever the rich and powerful (donors) are proposing without reasoning critically.

It seems that the government and decision-makers are bound by the country's economic status to the extent of losing the confidence and ability to challenge the donors. However, it might also be the situation where the government blames foreign agencies or donors and other people for being lazy in order to avoid responsibility and to cover its own inefficiency. Participants in this case were worried about their children's future economic life which depends on quality education provision. They felt powerless to decide on the future of their children and the community. Community members participating in a focus group discussion in D1 said that 'people who are involved in policy-making (considered rich) are the same people who sign contracts from donors'. These rich and powerful people send their children to better private schools or abroad, while the poor who are the implementers of the pre-determined policies depend on poor public or ward/community schools. Under these circumstances, the same people (children of the powerful) are likely to continue the legacy of dominating the country since their chance to access government posts is high because they acquired quality education.

7.5 The impact of politics on the quality of education

As noted above, politics have been used to determine decisions for policies and implementation whereby powerful actors (government officials and politicians) decide for others, the powerless, which is contrary to partnership working that places emphasis on equal power relations (see figure 3.4). This has affected the quality of education at local levels where most community or ward schools are located. The school head from D1 had this to say:

Yes, politics is everything, but we shouldn't allow politics to interfere with academic matters – teaching and learning. We won't reduce poverty this way.

The participants were concerned with the status of teachers working in schools at rural areas. It seems that even the few available are not valued. This school head emphasised, 'I really feel sorry for the young and newly employed teachers. The working environment is disappointing'.

A school committee member from D2 expressed similar views:

The government trains all professionals (teachers, doctors, accountants). Why doesn't it value teachers as it does others?

Participants were aware that teachers, apart from being among the least paid government employees, lack regular training and live in miserable conditions. As noted earlier and as observed in this section, government policies for education provision have put much weight on building many (but sub-standard) schools, rather than also considering other necessary aspects of education provision. If teachers are not valued, as participants noted, it is obvious that they will lose morale to perform their job effectively, which has an effect on the way they will teach in schools. The blame for this situation was directed at politicians who appeared to focus on quantity rather than quality. The school head from D1 explained:

Sometimes political leaders feel proud to announce that '*my ward has five schools*', but the condition of those schools in terms of quality is not mentioned. They have their own different interest in it.

Another school head in the same district commented that the intention of community schools was to provide quality education for all, as also mentioned in ETP and ESDP documents. However, the practice has been to build many schools. This participant argued:

Unless the quality part of education is addressed, we would not be implementing the policy properly.

During the fieldwork, I attended one of the school board meetings in D2. Despite the school's environment being good compared with other ward secondary

schools in rural areas, the academic performance was at a dismal level. It had insufficient teaching staff and resources. The four government employed teachers were expected to deliver 'quality' services to about 545 students (4:545). Each teacher had to teach or deal with 136 students (1:136) and the student-book ratio was 10:1. In this context, the quality of education is obviously going to be very low.

The following was extracted from a transcript of the dialogue during a focus group discussion with community members (CM) in D1. It provides a succinct example of the assessment of ordinary people in villages regarding education, quality and GCP working.

CM2: For primary schools, at least teachers are committed, but in secondary schools, teachers are not doing their job properly. This puts us off participating.

CM1: Mmhh! Some ward secondary schools have two teachers. How do you expect them to deliver quality education to all students? You cannot blame them. They cannot do miracles. They are not prophets or angels.

All: [*murmuring*], yeah, our district have been forgotten, ...removed from the country map...

CM4: Nowadays, during class hours, students are outside just chatting. What are we preparing: robbers, drug users or prostitutes? I blame the government.

CM6: If a child doesn't want to go to school, it's better to stay and help with domestic chores than roaming along the street ...not safe for teen-agers.

CM1: The government is our only hope, but it never cares for our well-being. I am not sure if we are really working together with the government.

CM6: Our children in villages will always be the losers. Look at the well-off families in the city. They can have quality education and better life.

The dialogue suggests that community members have lost faith in the government. They have not seen the returns of working together with the government since their children are not progressing well academically in schools, which denies them access to further learning. This freezes the vision of creating a poverty-free society. It seems local people are not empowered to exert pressure on the system to play its part. The powerlessness of this group, as noted earlier, seems to have lead to them developing fatalistic feelings, which

prevent them from challenging the government. Instead, they have despaired and decided to give up.

The decline in the quality of education resulted from the inconsistency of plans. As Ed1 said, 'Planners plan and dismantle plans themselves'. This has led to poor implementation. As a result, rural communities have lagged behind in quality of education. Furthermore, the participants noted the gap between schools located in rural areas and those in urban areas in terms of education quality. This gap was said to be even bigger between public and private schools. A school board member from D2 explained:

Like other ward community schools, our school doesn't have a library or a laboratory, but procedures for testing children are the same as other schools, which are not public or if public, they are not community. They are well equipped with all necessary facilities for secondary education.

Since the majority of poor people live in rural areas where most community schools are located, the creation of classes in society was obvious. Local leaders involved in focus group discussion in D1 echoed this view implying a fundamental failure of policy:

...There is a growing class, which divides people into groups. What matters here is money. You can pay for quality education or your child remains poor.

A school committee member from D2 had this to say:

...the children have just sat their primary national exams. Unfortunately, those who will join ward secondary schools are the children from poor households. Children of the rich and well-off parents will join private schools. Parents have lost faith and hope in public and community schools.

Participants' experiences (as community members in focus group discussions expressed), show that while public schools (during *ujamaa*) were the best and used to enrol students who performed well in primary education, private schools were considered a second choice. However, nowadays, participants said public schools are the second choice and sometimes they are the last. They are mainly for the rural poor. It is rather complicated as the funding for public and community schools was, and still is, a shared responsibility for both the

government and communities. With these changes and with the demand for education, the advantage remains with well-off parents as they can send their children to private schools.

Participants were also concerned that the education system does not change a person as expected, and sometimes they do not see the difference between educated and uneducated individuals. In a society, an educated person is expected to show some difference in both economic and social aspects. A school head from D1 explained:

...you may hear people saying '*so and so completed school without knowing how to read and write*'. ...The education s/he acquired didn't make him/her change to be an acceptable member of the community.

That means children graduate from these schools and complete the education cycle without gaining the intended knowledge or even basic skills. There could be various reasons for the decline of the quality of education in society. It could be because of the politics of community development that follows a top-down model where politicians' interests focus on building many schools; uncommitted leaders; bad or poor planning and implementation framework; the negligence of local people's knowledge; or something to do with the current education system. Generally, however, working together in a partnership mode where there is weak inbuilt social capital due to disconnected and uncoordinated network ties among actors as well as unreciprocated actions, it is difficult, or rather impossible, to achieve a decent outcome.

7.6 Discussion of findings

This chapter has examined the nature of the decision-making process for policy, planning and implementation procedures for education and community development through GCP working. The purpose was to find the extent to which the various actors in GCP are part of the decision-making process. The literature emphasises that despite the complexity of the process, which demands the inclusion of varieties of groups with conflicting interests, people's political and democratic rights should be assured (OECD, 2001; Osman, 2002; Irvin and Stansbury, 2004; Mosha, 2006; Birkland, 2011). The GCP has multiple and

complex social relationships because of the diversity of actors involved. In such a diversified social group, arguably the most important thing is to strengthen social cohesion, mutuality and reciprocity among the actors (see Putnam, 1993; Bienzle *et al.*, 2007; Kadushin, 2012). In this way, local actors' knowledge and experiences will be equally exploited and included in the decisions for effective community development, thereby formulating a real participatory policy with what Hunold (2001, p.152) calls a high degree of a democratic legitimacy.

The significance of local knowledge and local people's views in policy-making and implementation plans is emphasised by scholars. Many, for example (Shaeffer, 1994; Rifkin and Pridmore, 2001; Longworth and Osborne, 2010a; GUNi, 2014) write about the need to consider local knowledge and experiences as indispensable for the successful planning and implementation of community development activities since only the people living in that specific village can best explain their environment. The power of knowledge as pointed in GUNi report (The Global University Network for Innovation) can transform the lives of people and build the world they want. Generally, policies that are grounded in people's preferences assure the democratic and effective governance of the process (OECD, 2001; Irvin and Stansbury, 2004). The findings suggest that policy-making and implementation practice falls far short of the theory presented in official documents (e.g., URT, 1999, p.ix-x,28). Local people and their leaders receive 'readymade' policies that justify their exclusion in the process. Rose (2003a) has found a similar situation in Malawi where school policy formulation lacked 'genuine' participation at local level.

The exclusion of other partners in the process indicates an existence of weak reciprocity (Warner, 2001) mainly caused by a weak network structure or multiple networks that are separated through an unequal power structure. This implies that GCP is working in an unhealthy environment that limits the production of social capital, especial bridging and linking social capital. As findings indicate, local levels seem to have some network ties among the local people, implying the existence of bonding social capital. This is important as it reinforces collective action (Dahal and Adhikari, 2008), reciprocity and mobilises solidarity thereby creating sociological superglue (Putnam, 2000; Schuller *et al.*, 2000; Field, 2003).

GCP working relationships within the diversified and complex modern society are based only on bonding social capital and depend on the extent to which local people are empowered and free from political manipulation. However, effective GCP outcomes at community or local levels need both strong or horizontal network ties (bonding social capital) and weak or vertical ties (bridging social capital) (see Warner, 2001; Pichler and Wallace, 2007), as well as linking social capital which links people across power, decision-making and institutional barriers. Bridging social capital in GCP relationships would open doors for external networks and resources beyond the community (Jiang and Carroll, 2009; Castells, 2010; Dale and Newman, 2010). The findings however, suggest that the development process is affected by the hegemonic power of the dominant actors (bureaucrats and politicians) who prevent the extension of network ties necessary to build bridging and linking social capital. As such, local people become powerless to decide on the mode of their own development.

Furthermore, perhaps the government bureaucrats, policy-makers and politicians have focused on the '*paternalists*' assumption that local people are fatalistic and incapable of initiation (Shaeffer, 1994) while, as the GCP's findings indicate, this perspective is socially and politically constructed, based on an unequal power structure that makes people feel useless and powerless. Such assumptions in partnership working language result in a situation where local people appear as 'passive participants' and thus execute the predefined decisions (see Bray, 2000b; Nikkhah and Redzuan, 2009). This group, as Slake (2004) puts it, are 'silent partners' because their knowledge is deliberately overlooked by the more dominant actors.

The dominant group may have created the circumstances to avoid objection to the direction in which it wants the policies to go. McQuaid (2000) has noted that partnership is constructed in the context of power dominated by a few. That means that power-driven actors run the GCP in their own interests. Narayan *et al.* (2000) have observed that poor people feel powerless to defend themselves because their voices and assets, such as social networks, are limited. In other words, the nature of network ties in GCP working, which are based on unequal power relations between actors, has constrained access to resources for actors at local levels (Daly, 2010b; Carolan, 2014). Thus, for a healthy and genuine social relationship in GCP working, unless the politicians extend their network

ties to voters in rural areas, it is difficult to build bridging and linking social capital for effective partnership working.

Social relations and networks between actors in a social system are a significant asset (Adler and Kwon, 2002) for collective work. These assets, as Putnam (2000) explained, become capital depending on the extent of connections or networks among actors. Therefore, if decisions result from interactive social actions, they become collective decisions, necessary for collective community development. However, the evidence from this study indicates that the whole process of decision-making was based on 'weakly connected ties'. Local people, who are equally important actors in GCP working, were socially excluded (Field, 2005) from the process. In other words, the GCP lacks social ties and bonds that could bring actors together to make collective decisions for socio-economic development. The power-holders in the GCP, on the other hand, seem to have tightly bounded network ties connected by political and power interests, forming a high bonding social capital of their own. Hyden and Karlstrom (1993) have commented on the challenges facing policy formulation in developing countries which result from loosely connected processes because of political and ideological uncertainties. Thus, GCP has lacked authentic and reliable connections that could add value in social working relationships (Gilchrist, 2009).

Most of the community development decisions, as observed in this study and elsewhere (REPOA, 2008; Baboon, 2008; Rose, 2003a), resulted from a top-down process, implying that the relationships between actors are neither interactive nor reciprocal. In other words, the actors' participation level in the GCP, as Arnstein's ladder of participation (see figure 3.1) suggests, is at a 'tokenism' level where decision-making powers are retained by the power-holders (Arnstein, 1969, p.217). This is also what Bray (2000b) calls 'pseudo-participation', a consultative process of merely informing local people about their village development. As such, decisions of this nature rely on little knowledge (Linder and Peters, 1984), because the few dominant and powerful elites, mostly from the top level of governance (see figure 8.1), tend to disregard the local knowledge and ideas of local people (Choguill, 1996; Slack, 2004; Ledwith, 2011). In this situation, local people might implement projects

that are not locally useful. For example, in the case of GCP, local people have built many sub-standard, unnecessary schools.

Furthermore, in this study the social exclusion of local people from their right to participate in policy-making decisions is compounded by the legacy of the single-party system. The multi-party system was one of the SAP conditions imposed on many developing countries in the 1980s following the world economic crisis. This was presented as a way towards genuine political democratic participation of the majority in the decisions of their lives (Nyirabu, 2002). However, the evidence indicates that people have not yet seen the difference between the two systems of governance. In other words, the twenty years of multi-party politics (1992-2012) have not yet brought many significant benefits to society (see Bomani, 2012). Where benefits exist, they are unequally distributed.

The evidence suggests that party politics and government policies are inseparable because the players are the same (see also Miti, 1980; Peter, 2000). Government's actions and the ruling party are strategically fused together to weaken opposition parties (Makulilo and Raphael, 2010). This has undermined the essence of democracy. In fact, since the first multi-party election in 1995, CCM has been enjoying the majority of political positions²⁴ in parliament (Makulilo and Raphael, 2010, p.1). By implication, a large number of government officials will be the CCM followers and as such must implement party policy. In other words, their networks are built around their party's plans since acting against the party could mean losing position and power.

In this game, the people most affected are the rural dwellers where political awareness is low due to lack of information and a poor civic education structure. These factors sustain the roots of political manipulation, where in most rural areas (where the study of GCP was conducted), CCM is still the popular political party (see Mallya (2006) cited in Makulilo and Raphael, 2010, p.14). As Delanty (2003) and Derienzo (2007) have observed, modern world societies are subject to political manipulation and the search for power and resources. For example, most of the decisions in the education sector have been based on overly

²⁴ The first multiparty election was in 1995. The opposition parties won 38.2% while the ruling party got 61.8%. In 2000, the ruling party rose to 71.7% and the opposition dropped to 28.3%. In 2005, the ruling party got 80.2% votes while opposition got 19.8%. In the 2010 elections, CCM dropped to 61.17% while opposition rose to 38.83% (Makulilo and Raphael, 2010 p1 in *The October 2010 General Elections in Tanzania*).

ambitious policy announcements by politicians, uninformed by experts, educational planners and other stakeholders (Mosha, 2006, p.13) leading to the construction of unplanned and even unwanted schools – a misuse of community resources and a deterrent to collective working.

In a situation where competition for resources is high, the power relationships that transpire within communities are linked to the broader political, social and economic context. In this study, power relations among actors appeared weak, unequal or imbalanced. While government documents call for the active participation of local people in decision-making and the implementation process, the power structure denies such rights (see also Makongo and Mbilinyi, 2003). As Keohane (2010, p.2) explains, power can corrupt those who possess it, despite resistance from the people.

Within the GCP, local people seem to have little or no chance to oppose decisions made by the most powerful actors, allowing them to become uncommitted and unaccountable, and drawing attention to the fundamental need for local people to build and strengthen for themselves the network ties and social capital necessary to challenge the power-holders. This requires a cultural shift where local people stop characterising themselves as powerless, and, in Freire's (1993) words, begin developing critical consciousness.

The evidence points to the GCP lacking communication networks between actors, which blocks local people (the powerless) from questioning the wrongdoing of powerful actors. They cannot even vote out the inefficient politicians because, as REPOA (2008) also discovered, people are not aware of the mechanisms for enforcing accountability and instead wait five years to unseat a non-performing politician. However, unless there is a change in the system, unseating an inefficient politician might close the power circle even further because of the strong network ties among political elites. Such a non-transparent social working environment has created tensions among actors, implying that GCP is fictional rather than real – contradicting the view of Njuwa (2005) that at local levels there is harmony because people have the power to question their leaders. In fact, there is much underground disharmony because of political tensions and unequal power relations.

Politics in its essence, Birkland (2011) argues, is not necessarily bad, rather it depends on how actors use it. It is a game that can be productive to community development but only if it is fairly played and local people are powerful enough to orchestrate change. That is to say, the nature of network ties among actors can provide opportunities for resources or constrain access to them (Daly, 2010a, 2010b; Carolan, 2014). The evidence from this study suggests that politics in GCP relationships have veered to the negative, and that the GCP network structure prevents some actors from accessing resources. For instance, despite the O&OD participatory, decentralised power approach (URT, 2009b), locally implemented developmental projects are still identified from the top levels. As Semboja and Therkildsen (1994) and Mirafteb *et al.* (2008) explained, decentralisation was promoted but the real power of decision-making remains at the top. Figure 7.1 shows that while plans flow from bottom, final decisions are reached at the top, with policies resulting from a top-down practice.

These processes militate against interactivity in a political system model where feedback from inputs and demands from local people (the environment) become crucial in policy decisions (Easton, 1965). For GCP, policy decisions did not take the environment into account. Osman (2002) remarked that most developing countries have a tendency to place less value on demands from society and as a result, even when local people do attempt to develop policy it stops at the agenda stage (Birkland, 2011). Policy ideas in GCP working are collected through general meetings at village level through village action plans, but the findings from this study show that in most of these meetings, where there was low attendance anyway, people come together just to bless and approve the pre-planned agenda. This undermines the fundamental role of these meetings so that they become tokenistic.

GCP (as also observed in chapter 6) is a complex social phenomenon consisting of multiple and complex network ties among actors. That is, both actors and actions in GCP working, instead of being connected and interdependent (Schuller *et al.*, 2000; Carolan, 2014), are independent components because of disconnected network ties (see also figure 8.3). The politicians, bureaucrats and top leaders seem to have their own network ties with interests that are different from the GCP common goal, mainly constructed and defined for power retention (Castells, 2011) and to undermine existing local networks and solidarity.

For example, with reference to the GCP networking framework in figure 4.1, in this study the GCP had no clearly defined network ties (both strong and weak) among actors, mainly because there was a lack of mutual trust and transparency in what and how activities were performed (McQuaid, 2000). The reciprocity of actions appeared weak because of the unequal power relations between actors (see also Molm *et al.*, 2007). The GCP lacked the social glue and opportunity for productive social networks that could bring actors together to form bonding, bridging and linking social capital where unity, accountability and commitment for education provision could be assured. Generally, when a social phenomenon has high levels of inequality, with non-cohesive networks, it prevents actors from building social capital (Putnam, 2000; Schuller *et al.*, 2000), which undermines the possibility of collective working for common good.

The politics and unequal power relations in the GCP, based on loose networks and weak partnerships, have impacted negatively on the quality of education in rural areas where quantity not quality is what counts. As Lawal (2007) noted, among the factors that worsen the standard of education in Africa is bad governance. The politics of expanding education, as also pointed to in other studies, has focused only on increasing enrolment and the number of schools (Omari *et al.*, 1983; Mulengeki, 2004; Sifuna, 2007) with the quality of schooling for poor rural children being compromised (Wedgwood, 2007), making the issue of quantity versus quality in education a persistent political theme.

If education is having little impact on people's lives it is not surprising, then, that in rural areas poverty has not been reduced. Mtey and Sulle (2013) argue that: 'No country has successfully eradicated poverty without educating its people'. The primary and secondary levels are the foundation stages for young people to join tertiary education and compete in the labour market. Primary and secondary education, the focus of GCP working, are critical for poverty reduction (Mtey and Sulle, 2013).

The analysis of findings shows that people at local levels have not yet seen the expected outcomes from the GCP. The government as the main actor in GCP working has not played its part in terms of ensuring academic progress among the rural poor children through schooling in community and ward schools. From a network perspective, GCP has lacked both trust and reciprocity of action, which

undermines the reinforcement of social cohesion for social capital building (see Prell, 2003). This has discouraged local people from active participation in GCP working for education provision. The quality of schooling that determines progression to further learning would assure local people a better future (Omari, 1999; UNESCO, 2011b). Mtey and Sulle (2013, p.12) concluded that significant poverty reduction can only be realised if education can benefit the rural people.

Rural schools are inadequate in terms of infrastructure, teaching and learning materials, and pupil:book and pupil:teacher ratios, with unmotivated teachers working in difficult and hard-to-reach environments. This analysis concurs with previous studies (Lyimo, 2001; Matekere, 2003; Hape, 2005; Ekaju, 2011) and the SACMEQ (2011), which found that between 2000 and 2007, the pupil:teacher ratio in Tanzanian primary schools has risen to 63 and in secondary schools to 56 – higher than the national benchmark of 40. In fact, some studies have pointed out that the situation in schools is even worse than before 2000 (when both PEDP and later SEDP were introduced). For example, classes are over a third larger and the standard of teachers' living conditions has not changed (see UNDP, 2005; Davidson, 2004).

It is therefore not unexpected, as Lyimo (2001) showed, that the schools' efforts are frustrated by bureaucracy and limited teachers' autonomy. In addition, the findings show unequal distribution of teachers and facilities between schools located in rural areas and those in urban areas (see also URT, 2010a). Yet, most schools cannot retain even the few teachers who are allocated to rural areas due to the poor governance structure resulting in delays to teachers' payment and promotion (see Mtey and Sulle, 2013), and as exemplified in section 7.5. In this context, arguably, the main objective of 'quality education', as stated in the second phases of both PEDP and SEDP (URT, 2006b, 2010b), might be among the manipulative political announcements (Mosha, 2006).

It was also observed in GCP working that since quality education has become a commodity, the gap between poor and rich has increased. Households that fall in the well-to-do category, mostly the rich from urban areas, send their children to private schools where quality of education can be assured. Mulengeki (2004) also found that private schools produce good results because they offer quality education. Private schools are business-oriented institutions working in the

modern free-market economy and as such, they are able to recruit quality teachers and are fully equipped to attract clients. Stromquist and Monkman (2000), writing about *Globalisation and its Implications for Education*, argued that education has lost ground as a public good and has rather become another marketable commodity.

The current education system, as findings indicate seems to undervalue the significant role played by teachers in trying to provide quality education. As Stromquist and Monkman (2000, p.13) noted, the nature of contemporary globalised society has reduced teachers' autonomy and control. Instead, control is in the hands of administrators. This perhaps explains the weaknesses of top-down practices within unconnected layers, which has led to difficulties in implementing policies. The formulation of policies in which, as noted earlier, the majority of poor rural people are not involved, might nullify the relevance or authenticity of policies. As Makongo and Mbilinyi (2003, p.12) argues, 'the policy that is not implemented is not a policy'.

Chapter 8

Leadership and Government-Community Partnership

8.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter on the micro-politics of decision-making and the implementation process in GCP, it was noted that neither local people nor their leaders had an opportunity to decide on community development policies and their implementation. Local leaders, being the key actors in community development activities at local levels, were expected to be part of, or the representative of, the community in decision-making process. Hassan and Silong (2008, p.367) describe leadership at local levels as a shared and participatory task, involving people in collective, collaborative, cooperative, and connective activities. That means leaders at local levels have to build relationships with people based on mutuality and reciprocity (Pigg, 1999). It is the purpose of this chapter to examine further the nature of leadership in GCP working relationships. This chapter is linked to chapter 7, so it also addresses research question 2.

The research on local leadership offers insight into how local leaders need to be empowered to successfully influence people and actions for GCP working: *first*, capacity building for leadership skills and knowledge (Keohane, 2010); *secondly*, having access to power and resources since leadership is about power (Hassan and Silong, 2008; Keohane, 2010); *thirdly*, the authenticity of partnership (GCP) formation, that is, the extent to which principles of effective partnership are followed (McQuaid, 2000); and *fourthly*, the nature of network ties between leaders themselves both at top and local levels (see figure 8.1) and with the community, as well as the extent to which actions are reciprocated for effective community development (Granovetter, 1973; Warner, 2001; Kadushin, 2012).

The chapter begins by exploring the local leadership structures and the extent of commitment to their roles in GCP working (section 8.2). The manner in which local leaders are drawn into leadership structure could influence their

commitment and accountability to community development activities. There are two categories of local leaders within the structure: employed and voluntary. The latter group are not in receipt of a salary, despite doing almost as much work as the former group, and it became clear this was affecting their motivation and importance in the structure (section 8.3).

The roles performed by local leadership, and the power they had to perform those roles, emerged as another theme in the context of effective community development (section 8.4). Section 8.5 presents the findings on the strategies employed by local leaders to mobilise local people to participate in community development activities. Section 8.6 explores the lack of leadership capacity building, a vital part of leadership practice. These are followed by the discussion of findings (section 8.7).

8.2 Leadership structure and commitment: ‘something is wrong’

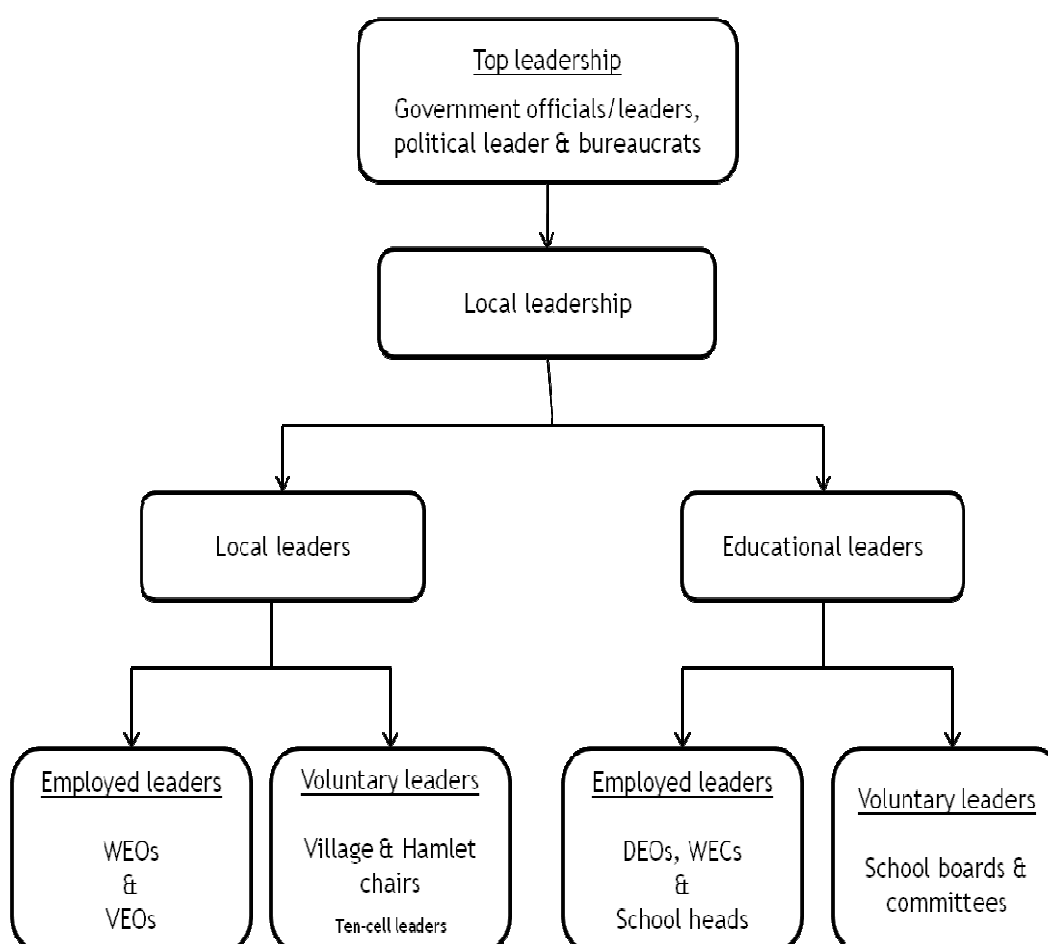
Leadership is a collaborative activity that involves various groups of people at local levels. In this study it includes *local leaders* – Ward/Village Executive Officers (WEOs/VEOs), village/hamlet chairs and ten-cell leaders in few places, and *educational officials* – District Education Officers (DEOs), Ward Education Coordinators (WECs), school heads, and school boards and committees. Educational officials become part of the local leadership because, for them to implement education policies and plans through GCP working and in local government reform, they have to collaborate closely with local leaders and the community.

Although educational officials are primarily managers, as URT (1995a, p.30) pointed out, people who are in a formal leadership roles (such as school heads or principals) engage in both management and leadership activities (Kilpatrick *et al.*, 2002, p.11). The difference between leadership and management lies in their functions. That is, whereas management seeks order and creates stability by managing routine and continuous change, leadership seeks adaptive and creative constructive change and to introduce new beliefs and practices into the system (Barker, 1997; Northouse, 2010). The two also have things in common, such as influence, working with people and effective goal accomplishment

(Northouse, 2010). As such, education officials throughout the study, and this chapter in particular, will be referred to as ‘educational leaders’ and be situated in local leadership.

Figure 8.1 below presents the general structure of leadership including top leadership at government level (government officials, bureaucrats, and politicians) and local leadership (local and educational leaders – categorised as employed and voluntary leaders). Procedures for local leadership selection and capacity building in GCP highlight the extent to which such procedures affect leaders’ accountability and commitment to GCP working relationships.

Figure 8.1: Leadership structure in GCP working relationship



The distinction between employed and voluntary leaders in local leadership is based on the monthly salary scheme. That means the employed are paid a salary by the government for their leadership roles. The voluntary leaders, as the findings below seem to suggest, are supposed to be paid an allowance – as a token during leadership meetings. In practice however, they do not receive such

allowances. For this reason, and as participants explained, they are referred to as 'voluntary leaders'.

The educational leaders (see figure 8.1), with the exception of the school boards and committees, others including DEOs, WECs and school heads are professionals specialised in teacher education and/or education management fields. They are appointed and employed by the government through the ministry responsible for education. They need not to be natives of the district they are posted to work in, but in the GCP working relationship, they work together with local leaders and people in specific villages.

Members of school boards and committees work on a voluntary basis though they might be employed, self-employed or farmers, but they must be members of the village or ward where the school is located. They are representing people in decision-making and the well-being of the school in a specific village or ward. The necessity of school boards and committees is embedded within the schools structure in line with the Education and Training Policy (URT, 1995a, p.28). Education officials from both districts explained the structure of the school boards and committees:

School committees' must consist of at least five parents, two teachers and influential people in the village.

...half of the members of school board must come from the specific village where the school is located, and other half includes the professionals and people from institutions and organisations within the village.

One school board member from D2 explained the selection procedure:

The process begins at school and village levels where the head of school and ward/village leaders identify names of potential people who can represent the community on the school board. Then the appointed names are sent to the Regional Commissioner for approval.

The findings imply that while people from the specific village are supposed to select their representatives, the school boards and committees selection procedures deny them such right. In this case, people in the community might not accept the leaders who were selected and appointed in a top-down way. As

the evidence shows, people's opinions in leadership selection would add value to leaders' commitment for community good.

When community members were asked for their views concerning the process, their expression showed dissatisfaction. They felt that the names are unfairly selected, which explains the level of leaders' commitment in the GCP working relationship, as this community member from D2 explained:

...I think there is something wrong in the process of selecting members to represent the community in schools because they are not committed.

Another community member from D1 expressed similar feelings:

...the appointment system is based on *undugunization*²⁵, rather than capabilities and level of commitment. That is why students' performance is falling daily.

The findings above suggest that: first, since the process of appointing school board and committee members does not involve the community, the appointees seem to lack community acceptance. This is a challenge to school development and to the appointed members on how to represent a community which did not approve their leadership. The second possible implication might be that if the appointment does not consider the merits and capacity of the appointees, as the findings suggest, there is a danger of members being more concerned with the well-being of the authority than the school and community they are supposed to represent, a typical top-down system. This process also implies that top leaders, who appoint school board and committee members of their choice, might have done that to deliberately strengthen their stock of bonding social capital that benefits their interests.

Furthermore, the conversation with Ed2 in D1 regarding whether school boards and committees are paid revealed that, while schools are expected to pay an allowance, they have limited funds for every school board or committee meeting members attend. This official explained that if there is no allowance, attendance becomes very low. This perhaps explains the level of commitment

²⁵ Undugunization is a term extracted from a Swahili word 'ndugu', meaning brotherhood or relative relationship. In this case, 'undugunization' means the situation where someone is put in a position because of relatives rather than merits.

and accountability for school development. The board and committee members' network ties might be stronger with the authority than with the community, which is an unhealthy practice for school development.

Turning to the local leaders (see figure 8.1), the employed (WEOs and VEOs) and the voluntary (village and hamlet chairs and ten-cell leaders in a few places), while the employed local leaders were appointed by the local government authorities, voluntary local leaders were selected by the community members of the specific village. In GCP working relationships, both groups have to work collectively for the common good of the community. However, there was a sense of unfair treatment between the two, as this L1 from D2 explained:

...sometimes we have to sacrifice our *shamba* activities and work for the community. If only we were paid a salary like other leaders, (we work almost the same) we could compensate our time.

Another L1 from D1 emphasised:

...remember, village and hamlet chairs are the community members' choice but WEOs and VEOs are the government or the district director's choice.

Voluntary local leaders felt that the role they play in rural development is not recognised as important, which is not healthy for effective collective community development. The employed local leaders, on the other hand, are likely to be responsible for the director's interest rather than the community they are supposed to serve. As also discussed in chapter 7, the priority of most leaders is to protect their position. Leaders selected by the community are expected to lead effectively and efficiently, promote the community's welfare and protect it from powerful leaders.

The composition of local leadership determines the level of commitment and accountability in community development activities. During one of the focus group discussions, community members from D1 said:

Some executive officers are not active in following matters reported to them, for instance, the village chair or ten-cell may report the names of defaulters, and executives ignore them and don't take any action.

When asked why the executive ignores his/her responsibility, one of them clarified:

...obviously, the executive officer knows the government very well. The village chair or ten-cell leader can do nothing. S/he was only elected by the local people.

This is an example of leadership without power. As noted earlier, local leaders appointed by the government without the consent of community members, implement what suits their employers rather than what suits the community. From the perspective of the politics of community development (discussed in chapter 7), until the employers become keen and adhere to the principle of common good and change the system of selection and accountability, the local leaders (employees) dilemma about how to balance the two masters they are supposed to serve, will remain unsolved. Unless local government authorities and district councils work out a system that motivates voluntary leaders, the maintaining and developing of a collective working spirit is likely to have a deleterious effects on education and community development because their success relies on collective working. Leadership motivation, which may affect leaders' performance, has to go hand-in-hand with leadership capacity building to develop leaders' skills and ability. This is discussed in section 8.6.

8.3 Local leadership motivation: 'even a token of appreciation'

Incentives are the most important strategy for leaders to work effectively while feeling accountable. Incentives can be tangible things (salary, allowances) or intangible (recognition, appreciation, power). This section focuses on voluntary local leaders where motivation factors or incentives have a direct effect on their daily leadership activities. As L1 from D2 expresses here, voluntary leaders are neglected:

If the government can pay other leaders, why don't they think we need something, even a token of appreciation? It has forgotten the level that is close to the village/community²⁶. ...I am not employed anywhere, but I have to think about the well-being of the village, solve conflicts, attend and supervise village meetings.

²⁶ See appendix 6 for district administrative structure.

Allowances or tokens of appreciation, the findings suggest, would motivate voluntary local leaders to monitor community development activities. Appreciation is a symbolic action crucial in building trust and commitment for collective working. In other words, the cost these leaders incur while working for the well-being of the community would not have brought negative feelings if they were recognised and appreciated.

It has been pointed out that the government had expected the village to pay voluntary local leaders' allowances from village resources. However, currently such an arrangement has been found to be impossible. There are no longer village cooperatives or *shambas* and, thus, villages do not have funds (local leaders, D1, focus group discussion). Village cooperatives and *shambas* existed during *ujamaa* in the 1960s and 1970s (see *ujamaa* in chapter 9). It seems there is a problem in the system where bureaucracies operate in their own interest while leaving village leaders outside the system. In other words, voluntary leaders are disconnected from the system.

Looking again at the issue of 'employed versus voluntary leaders', what matters is not whether these leaders are paid or not, rather the extent to which they are empowered to take up their roles, on one hand, and the recognition they receive, on the other. As such, the problem might be in the nature of community development and participation where local people and leaders are seen as 'implementing the pre-defined decisions' rather than as 'real partners' in making decisions.

Empowerment in terms of capacity building (training, seminars or workshops) is essential for local leaders to strengthen their leadership roles. Capacity building not only empowers but also motivates them (see section 8.6). The next section examines the extent to which local leaders have the power to practise their leadership roles for community development in GCP working relationships.

8.4 Local leaders' power: 'blessings and rubber-stamps'

Starting with educational leaders, as explained in section 8.2, they play both managerial and leadership roles, their powers, roles and responsibilities were laid down in the Education and Training Policy (ETP) as follows:

All education managers at national, regional, district and institutional levels shall be responsible for the coordination of planning, provision, management, administration and quality control of formal, informal and non-formal education and training in their areas of jurisdiction. Regional and district education officers shall have over-all responsibility over the implementation of education and training policies in their respective areas of jurisdiction. They have the powers to oversee and control financial resources generated and channelled into the region or district, and matters pertaining to education and training in their areas of jurisdiction (URT, 1995a, p.30).

The extent to which educational leaders use the powers granted in the policy to perform their roles is a major challenge for GCP working. Chapter 7 has shown that local people and their leaders implement plans and decisions predetermined by the top levels.

In this study, educational leaders from both districts said that their foremost responsibility was to ensure reasonable performance in schools by collaborating with other education stakeholders including school boards and committees, WECs, local leaders and community members. As noted in chapter 6, academic achievement is a crucial factor for children to succeed in further learning and secure a better future life, which is a community members' GCP motivation factor. In this case, academic achievement is not a leadership role, but rather it is a product of GCP working.

When education leaders from both districts were asked to explain how education is achieved in schools, they said: they supervise and monitor the sufficiency and deficiency of teachers, teaching and learning supplies, books and infrastructures and advise the district council accordingly. Their main concern is the ratio of school facilities/buildings/teachers to students. As this Ed2 from D2 explained:

Ratios help to identify shortages in schools, e.g. number of teachers and students; students and books/desks/classrooms; and other buildings such as laboratories, libraries, teachers' houses. The purpose is to check whether the standard matches. If not we have to report any deficiency.

The education officials here seem to concentrate on the quantity rather than quality. Again, it is difficult to assess the quality of, for example, teachers and the effectiveness of teaching, while some schools have only one or two teachers. Once the school building process is completed, it is the responsibility of

education officials to allocate teachers and school supplies. However, as observed in chapter 7, there is a severe shortage of teachers and supplies in schools, which leads to a very low quality of education. Thus, since teacher training and the supply of teaching/learning materials is the government's responsibility, education officials can only allocate teachers and supplies to schools if the government sends them. The role and power of education officials as laid down in the policy document is at odds with the practice.

With regard to school boards and committees, the ETP states:

The success of education and training institutions is as much the concern of parents and communities as the teachers. Thus, all education and training institutions shall have school or college committees and boards. They shall be responsible for management, development planning, discipline and finance of institutions under their jurisdiction (URT, 1995a, p.28).

This reflects the point noted in section 8.2 that school boards and committees are put in place to represent parents and the community in general for school development. At the focus group discussion in D1, one school board member said:

The school board is the main decision-making organ at school. Most of the activities or decisions must have the board's blessing or approval, as community representatives.

In another focus group discussion in D2, one school board member said:

School heads could not perform their duty well without the school board because it is a 'juridical organ', which acts according to law. It has the power to accept or reject something for the benefit of school.

However, due to unequal power relations among the community development actors and the top-down decision-making process (noted in chapter 7), it is doubtful whether the school boards really practise the power they claim to have, or whether they are just a rubber-stamp for predefined decisions. As explained in 8.2, the selection and appointment of school boards is the prerogative of school heads and other educational officials. Their powers are likely to be limited to what has already been decided by the schools, which also receive decisions made from the top leadership levels. It was made clear by

local leaders from D1 during the focus group discussion that school boards and committees and heads of schools have no power to influence and control school activities. One of the local leaders elaborated further the reasons why they failed to exercise the mandated powers:

...The lack of power is because of politics. The politicians tend to meddle with education and community development activities, especially if the project is well-funded.

In addition, school boards and committees are powerless because they are not involved in decision-making. For instance, the letter in appendix 8 was written by the district council to school heads reminding them to hold meetings with school boards as directed. This suggests that school heads have been calling meetings without including board members, and that decisions about school development plans are reached by other top leaders including politicians. On the other hand, schools lack funds for board members' attendance allowances, so this could explain their absence or exclusion. It seems that there were circumstances where school board members were not invited or when they were invited their attendance was low, which might be due either to the interests of the decision-makers or lack of funds. It might also be a token system, which in Arnstein's level of participation it falls in the 'tokenism level' (see figure 3.1).

The so-called 'representation' may simply be another example of politics undermining the efforts of those committed to education and community development. Unless the board and committee members are trained, supported and empowered to carry out their roles, school development and improvement of the quality of education in rural communities will not be realised. Training is essential for all leaders at local levels to ensure effective performance of their roles. Training is part of the capacity building discussed in section 8.6.

Turning to local leaders, their main responsibility is to mobilise people and resources and supervise community development activities. L1 from D2 explained:

We mobilize and encourage people to work. We prepare plans indicating the order and process of activities and encourage people to attend.

The role of mobilising and encouraging people to work suggests that there are some problems in the community development process. That is, if local people were considered as 'real partners' in GCP working, they would not need to be mobilised or encouraged; they would attend voluntarily as members of the network structure. Instead, community development planning had employed a top-down model with local people as passive participants.

Another issue of importance in local leadership administration is the disappearance of the important post of ten-cell leader. This post is the closest leadership post in the community, in which each ten-cell leader represents ten houses. As described in the next section, through this post the role of mobilisation could be made much easier. Local leaders from both districts acknowledged the importance of ten-cell leaders for collective community development because through them it is possible to reach everyone in the community.

Despite the value of this post for rural development, it is no longer as active as it used to be during the period of single-party politics or in *ujamaa*. There are very few ten-cell leaders left nowadays (local leaders, D1, focus group discussion). Under the single-party system, members of the party in a specific village were responsible for the selection of ten-cell leaders. This post does not seem to have a role in multi-party politics because the system is not clear about these leaders in terms of their party affiliation. It might be that the opposition parties see ten-cell leaders as an extension of the ruling party and perhaps a threat. As noted earlier, the legacy of single-party politics has continued to lead socio-economic activities within the multi-party system.

Apart from mobilisation, local leaders are also responsible for 'conflict resolution' at local levels. Conflicts between people living and working together are inevitable. L1 from D2 explained the sources of conflict in villages:

Most conflicts result from family misunderstandings, drunk parents, land/farm borders or water rations. Sometimes leaders use by-laws to arbitrate conflicts arising in the villages, in order to avoid serious fighting or killing.

L2 from D1 added:

We are ‘peacekeepers’. We solve people’s conflicts and problems, both individually and groups.

In addition, in D2, I attended a local leaders’ meeting which was set to resolve conflicts about water rationing. The village plumber had been rationing water, contrary to the village decision. That is, while villagers contributed cash and labour (plus support from the World Bank) for the construction of a village well, the village plumber was channelling water to villagers who offered him ‘*kitu kidogo*’ (bribe). Those who offered bribes were the well-to-do people, who in most cases do not participate in collective work. Although villagers reported the issue to local leaders, no action was taken.

In the example above, although local leaders are supposed to be in a position to solve conflicts to keep peace in villages, at the same time, where they fail to address community problems, this can become a source of conflict in itself. The reason for this failure may be the vested interests of local leaders and their relationships with either the plumber or the well-to-do people, or the local leaders lack power and are therefore unable to assert their authority over the plumber and the well-to-do in the village. This inability weakens the essence of community development where local leaders have to have power and be able to act as independent arbiters. From the network perspective, if local leaders and villagers were socially connected with strong network ties, it could have been possible to solve any conflict collectively before it became serious. Again, if ten-cell leaders were active and working closely with people, as in former times, underlying conflicts could be solved or minimised. This suggests a missing network tie between the villagers and their leaders, particularly the ten-cell leaders.

8.5 Mobilisation strategies for community activities: ‘Tins and trumpets’

Since decisions about community development activities are arrived at through a top-down model and a lack of local leadership power, the major role for local leaders is limited to mobilisation of the community for collective work. Therefore, it is important to examine strategies these leaders use to fulfil their role. L2 from D1 explained:

We write letters to hamlet leaders instructing them to tell their ten-cell leaders about the activity to be implemented (date and day). Ten-cell leaders pass through each of their ten households, explaining about the activity, insisting their people do not to miss it. In this way, all community members are informed.

This finding shows a direct representation of people through ten-cell leaders by simply passing on information and instructions – a typical top-down model. Since ten-cell leaders deal with only ten houses each, which makes it manageable for them to reach everyone, it is possible to have personal contact with people and thereby strengthens the community development process. This suggests the necessity of the position of ten-cell leaders for effective community development activities and so they should be retained. However, as noted earlier, this important local administrative position is vanishing to fit multi-party governance, without any plans for replacement or restructuring. The next closest position to the community in the administrative structure, is the hamlet (*kitongoji*), where each one consists of a number of streets (*mitaa*) with more than ten households. For hamlet leaders, it becomes more difficult to have personal contact when informing people about any planned developmental activity.

Another method local leaders use to mobilise and encourage people is through general meetings (chapter 7 discusses these meetings in details). Here, local leaders explain what is happening in the village, and the purpose and importance of carrying out certain projects. As L2 from D2 explained:

During the meeting (e.g., about building a school or classroom), I explain to people the effects of children walking long distances to school, such as influences that may lead them to inappropriate behaviours, which may cause sexual abuse, early pregnancies or drug abuse.

Another L2 from D1 said:

During meetings, sometimes we try to make people feel the pain of not being educated by giving them examples from areas where people are educated and developed because of collective activities.

These findings demonstrate the potential usefulness of general meetings at local levels as democratic and social gatherings. However, as observed in chapter 7,

the fact that political processes have interfered with community activities and, thus, very few people attend general meetings, makes it unrealistic to depend on these meetings to keep everyone informed. It leads to the conclusion that local leaders lack leadership skills in mobilising people, which disconnects them from the system. This suggests that local leaders are not provided with training prior to, or during, their leadership period. Training and regular seminars or workshops would perhaps provide them with more varied techniques for dealing with local people. These important aspects of leadership development will be discussed in the next section.

Despite this, the process by which people are called for general meetings provides further insights, as demonstrated by the explanations from local leaders from both districts during focus group discussions. *First*, they use ten-cell leaders to inform people about meetings and community activities as explained earlier. *Second*, there is a person appointed to make an announcement explaining in a high-pitched voice where to meet and what to bring for the implementation of activity. Local instruments are used to attract people's attention before the announcement is made. In D2, the announcer bangs on a *tin*; in D1, he blows a *trumpet*. Such local traditional ways could be relied on to work well if local people and their leaders were 'active participants' or 'real partners' for community development planning and decision-making. However, since in some villages, households are scattered, a house-to-house method (such as the use of ten-cell leaders) remains a more effective way than hitting a tin or blowing a trumpet.

8.6 Lack of leadership capacity building

Having examined local leadership roles and mobilisation strategies, and thereby found that, in addition to being powerless in making decisions because of the nature of top-down model, local leaders also lacked leadership skills. The attention turns now to leadership capacity building and the extent to which local leaders in GCP are provided with the training necessary to perform their leadership roles.

During focus group discussions in both districts, local leaders set out their understanding of the qualities needed for a leader to work well with local

communities. Foremost, they said, was knowledge about local people's traditions, especially if a leader is not a native of the village. During interviews, L2 from D1 explained further:

A leader must be disciplined, be wise and respect the people. We are leading different kinds of people (elders, youths, men and women) with various merits. Some have more constructive ideas than ours.

L1 from D2 added:

A leader should not just impose ideas rather sometimes s/he has to ask people, e.g. *'What do you think about...?'*

The findings suggest that leaders respect community members and recognise that people's ideas are important for collective community development. A leader, then, is not just leading but also s/he works together with people as a facilitator to achieve the intended goals. However, for a leader to learn local people's cultures and be able to facilitate, s/he needs to be accepted by the people, which depends on how the leader achieved that leadership position. As explained in section 8.2, some leaders are not the people's choice. This makes the situation difficult for them to interact with people and develop mutual understanding because the network ties that could connect them together have been manipulated during selection.

Nevertheless, whether people select their leaders or not, they still need leadership training and regular seminars or workshops to cope with the ever-changing political, economic, cultural, and social diversification of society, on one hand, and on the other, the need to understand the different nuances needed when dealing with people. L2 from D2 said:

We need frequent seminars or workshops. We are becoming more modern and activities are becoming too complex to be performed in a vacuum. We need to stand confidently as real community representatives. Top leaders should think about this.

The focus group discussion with school committee members in D1 expressed their understanding of the complexities of leadership roles:

Being a leader is not a joke. You need to be patient, have wisdom, and tolerance. It is very important to have at least an understanding

of adult psychology and other issues like language tone when approaching people for participation.

The findings show local leaders' understanding of what should be available for them to perform their job effectively. However, it seems that they are not receiving what they expected, such as any training about leadership, seminars or workshops. Such training would keep them up-to-date. They could continuously acquire new skills on how to manage, administer and plan education and community development actions. It might be a built-in intention of the top-down community development model for decision-making, to let local leaders work without the necessary skills so that they remain passive with no basis on which to question the top-leaders' actions. It might also be an issue of 'insufficient funds' as claimed below.

As an example (see figure 8.2 below), looking at the capacity building plan for 2010/2011 in D1, while the employed local leaders, politicians and other bureaucrats at local level enjoyed training opportunities, voluntary local leaders (village/hamlet chairs and school boards and committees) were not considered important enough positions to warrant time and expenditure on training or seminars.

Figure 8.2: Targeted groups for capacity building plan in D1

I.	20 councillors (politicians)
II.	10 heads of departments
III.	5 heads of units
IV.	30 ward executive officers
V.	96 village executive officers
VI.	40 councillors—study tour
VII.	6 council staffs—tuition fees for long courses
VIII.	0 <u>village/hamlet chairs</u>
IX.	0 <u>school boards/committees</u>

Source: District Council (2010, p.8-11)

It was observed that funds channelled into districts were too meagre for district councils to accomplish the duties planned including running seminars or

workshops for staff and leaders' capacity building. However, this does not justify the exclusion of voluntary local leaders in the planning. Instead, if there are insufficient resources, for a genuine partnership, all actors should benefit from the little resources available.

During focus group discussions, local leaders from D2 expressed how the system is a disappointment:

...How can top leaders help the local people in the village while they are confined in their offices?

A community member during interview in the same district had similar expression:

We always see village/hamlet chairs in villages. I think other leaders must be working in their offices. ...It is a kind of 'remote control' supervision.

So while top leaders are offered training and seminars to improve their leadership roles, they show more responsibility and commitment to their offices than to the community. Local leaders, on the other hand, are not receiving the required level of cooperation from the top leaders. As such, they are demoralised and have developed feelings of powerlessness. They have found themselves in the dilemma of trying to practise leadership without the necessary knowledge, which would give them skills, power and confidence. Capacity building through training, seminars and workshops would empower local leaders and enable them to build confidence to work effectively with local people.

This implies not only a weakness in the system, but also poor networking between top and local leaders, which leads to an unhealthy social working environment. This situation explains the low level of commitment and accountability among the leaders for community development activities and the difficulties in reducing poverty in rural areas through GCP working.

8.7 Discussion of findings

This chapter has examined the nature of local leadership in education and community development in GCP working relationships. The purpose was to find

the extent to which local leaders in GCP are empowered to perform their roles confidently as leaders and the nature of relations among leaders (at local and top levels). This has impacted on collective community development activities in which the success depends on the authenticity of the GCP working relationship. The GCP, with its diversity of actors that differ in perspectives, purpose and power relations, has multiple and complex social relationships (Bray, 2000b; McQuaid, 2000). To be successful in such a complex relationship, Pigg (1999, p.196) suggests, leaders at community level must build mutual and reciprocated relationships with local people. In addition, leadership at local levels, as an interactive event (Northouse, 2010) which involves people in collective, collaborative, cooperative, and connective activities (Hassan and Silong, 2008, p.367), depends on the leaders' capacities to bring together the energies of people (Keohane, 2010). In other words, local leaders can accomplish their leadership roles only if they are empowered in terms of capacity building as well as having access to power as leaders.

However, while some literature has stated clearly that leadership is about the power to influence people (Hassan and Silong, 2008; Keohane, 2010), the findings indicate that local leaders lack power to carry out their leadership roles, which explains their lack of motivation and effectiveness. This is the consequence of a community development model where the decision-making process has followed a top-down approach. As demonstrated in section 8.2, local leaders (especially the employed) are selected or appointed by top officials without people's views and consent. As such, local leaders are working in a complex situation because they lack legitimacy from local people. It is therefore difficult for them to build mutual relationships with a commitment to meet local people's expectations and collective needs (Pigg, 1999). Apparently, leadership of that nature nullifies the essence of 'local leadership' which needs to be based on an interactive process between the leader and members of the community (Northouse, 2010, p.4), as figure 3.2 shows.

In addition, while there is an intimate link between leadership and power, harmonising the two in a real world with the complexities of the diversified actors is a challenge for local leaders because 'power-holders tend to misuse power for personal gain' (see Keohane, 2010, p.2). As observed in this study, local leaders, e.g., education leaders, despite being granted powers as stated in

official documents (see URT, 1995a, p.28,30), could not exercise such powers for the effective execution of their roles because they had to retain their commitment for the power-holders, those who put them in that leadership position. Stren (1981) had noted a similar situation where village leaders had to build good relations with bureaucrats to maintain their positions. Perhaps this is the reason why rural development is so far from a reality, as neither local leaders nor top leaders are accountable and committed to rural development. Unequal power relations have been observed as a major source of failure in GCP working relationship (see McQuaid, 2000; Pinkus, 2005).

Such working relationships might have encountered networking problems between top leaders, local leaders and community members. That means the working relationship seems to lack strong or horizontal network ties (Granovetter, 1973; Warner, 2001). These networks according to Warner are vital in creating a societal structure based on egalitarianism. Moreover, such network ties would have strengthened the local bonding social capital that could hold people together, reinforcing solidarity, reciprocity and community mobilisation (see Putnam, 2000; Schuller *et al.*, 2000). However, since local leaders lack acceptance and legitimacy from the community members due to poor nature of selection procedures for getting into leadership positions, there will be weak or no social ties that could bind them together for collective work. Again, if there was any existing 'bonding' social capital among the community members, it is likely to decline and thus jeopardise the collective community development because of the non-transparent working environment.

Furthermore, since the findings indicate that local leaders (the employed) are accountable to the top leaders and bureaucrats, their network ties were expected to be strong for them to work together. However, due to unequal power relations between the two in which the powerless (local leaders) perform the predefined tasks, their network ties are based on poor and hierarchical social relations. As Castells (2011, p.774) pointed out, the interests and values of the powerful actors determine power in networks. However, the network structure in GCP working is enhanced by the reciprocity of actions, which Kadushin (2012) suggests should minimise the consequences of power. In other words, the types of actors and the power relations between them in the GCP

have to be clarified at the outset of the institution of the partnership in order to minimise confusion (see McQuaid, 2000, p.13).

Such a complicated and unreciprocated networking relationship – between top leaders, bureaucrats, local leaders and community members – prevents community members from practising bridging and linking social capital. In order to have these vital forms of social capital for effective GCP working relationships, actors in networks are connected by weak ties based on informal relations (see Granovetter, 1973; Burt, 1992; Pichler and Wallace, 2007). Access to weak ties or informal contacts, according to Burt (1992), would integrate the disconnected social clusters. This means that, if community members had mutual social contacts with top leaders and bureaucrats, they could have shared their problems and experiences and thereby helped to change the system. In addition, the governing system, to fulfil their political power interests, has also disconnected community members from their ten-cell leaders.

Generally, the nature of leadership in GCP working has been practised within loosely and disconnected network ties created by power-driven and even corrupt actors. This tension has prevented the possibility of employing weak ties that could have brought social clusters together for collective community development. In other words, local leadership within GCP seems to have various networks (see figure 8.3 below) which cannot be mutually reciprocated and therefore don't work collectively for community good. This is contrary to the 'ideal' GCP networking framework for collective community development proposed in figure 4.1. In this figure, for effective partnerships to work, both strong and weak network ties among actors are based on mutual trust, transparency, reciprocity and equal power relations.

Figure 8.3: A disconnected network ties of leadership in GCP working

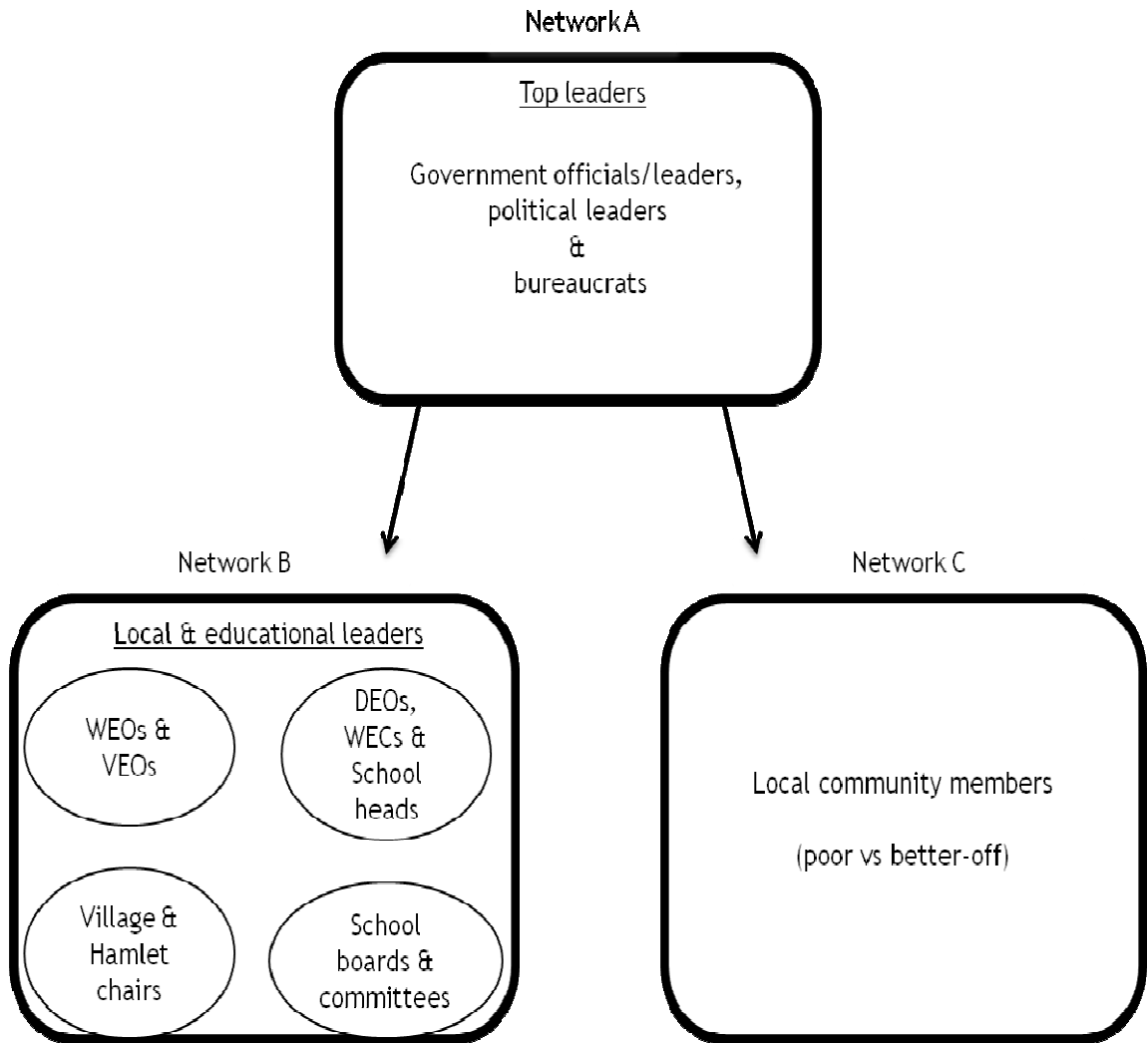


Figure 8.3 indicates that network ties are not only disconnected between the three networks (A,B&C), but also within the individual networks. For example, in network ‘B’, local and education leadership seem to have various networks (the four circles) with disconnected social ties between them. This is because they are divided by the system in terms of ‘employed versus voluntary’ leaders. As discussed in section 8.2, the ways local leaders achieved their leadership positions had divided them into contested groups with tensions that have affected commitment and accountability. The tensions could be the dilemma of practising leadership without power, knowledge or skills, and/or when they are trying to serve people without their consent and legitimacy.

The arrows from network ‘A’ pointing downwards to networks ‘B’&‘C’ imply a directional relationship where only network ‘A’ has access of the resources (including power, information and wealth) of other networks. This mirrors the

typical top-down model of decision-making for community development identified in chapter 7. Network relations of this nature, as Daly (2010a) noted, restrain other actors' (network 'B'&'C') opportunities for access to resources embedded in social structures.

On the other hand, looking at the 'principles of effective partnership' presented in figure 3.4 (McQuaid, 2000, p.13), leadership network relations shown in figure 8.3 above implies a lack of authenticity in the GCP agreement. This means actors (particularly local leaders and local people) entered into the GCP working relationship without agreeing on the purpose, the type of key actors and their roles as well as the powers of each actor. The powerful actors (network 'A') as McQuaid (2000) commented, might have deliberately prevented other partners (network 'B'&'C') from active participation in partnership formation and goal settings, in order to include hidden agendas that fit their interests.

Therefore, GCP was established while other actors (like networks 'B'&'C', figure 8.3) received limited information and were excluded from the process, which made them unaware of the nature of the partnership in which they were engaging. Despite such circumstances, which suggest a high level of disconnected network ties in a social working environment, local leaders still need training, workshops and regular seminars (capacity building). Participants (the local leaders) drew attention to the necessity for acquiring leadership skills and knowledge to strengthen their leadership roles for effective rural development (see also Keohane, 2010; Northouse, 2010). The skill model for leadership had stated clearly how essential the development of leadership skills is in lower levels for effective management, social judgement and problem solving skills (Northouse, 2010, p.52).

Such leadership skills have a significant impact on the ability of local leaders to perform their roles of mobilisation, steering meetings and conflict resolution effectively. Modern communities are complex and diversified with sub-groups that do not necessarily operate in harmony (Bray, 2003). Relevant literature has pointed to some features of modern communities: that they are open structures with dense networks of multi-stranded relationships that are subject to political and power manipulation (Mayo, 1994; Das Gupta *et al.*, 2003; Delanty, 2003).

The local leaders who participated in this study expressed their understanding of changes in modern communities – they said that ‘leadership activities are becoming more complex to be executed from the vacuum’. This means local leaders need orientation towards the skills and knowledge they need to cope with an ever-changing society. As also pointed out by a representative from Tanzania in the ‘*Commonwealth Association for Public Administration and Management*’ report (CAPAM, 2009, p.5), public service leaders are grappling with a difficult and change-oriented working environment. In fact, it is difficult to build ‘genuine’ partnership at local levels with such uneven capacity among partners (Craig, 2011). Therefore, the fundamental need for leaders to become competent in having a cross-cultural awareness of the challenges created by the globalised world, should be enforced (House and Javidan, 2004).

However, it appeared that while local leaders were aware of the necessity of developing leadership skills, ‘leadership and personnel capacity building plans for 2010/11’ presented in figure 8.2, excluded ‘voluntary’ local leaders. These leaders invariably volunteer their time and energy on a more or less full-time basis for local development and, thereby, directly or otherwise incur some opportunity costs. In this circumstance, as an individual volunteer in collective work, a leader would feel psychologically motivated which would increase performance if his/her work was recognised and appreciated. Maslow (1970, p.21), a motivation theorist, emphasizes that: in working place, individuals evaluate themselves for self-respect and self-esteem (in the face of the world) when they feel competent and confident in mastering tasks, and when other people pay attention to, respect, recognise and appreciate their performance.

In addition, satisfying the need for self-esteem would help local leaders develop self-confidence, and give them a sense of adequacy and usefulness in society. However, voluntary local leaders have developed the feeling that top leaders have no interest in well-being at local level. By building such attitudes towards government, Maslow (1970) suggests that local leaders are likely to develop a sense of inferiority or helplessness, and powerlessness. Solomon (1976), argued a similar concern, that when valued identities, roles and valuable resources are denied, powerlessness rises. Again, such a working relationship undermines the essence of partnership working where both actors need to have mutual benefit

and are viewed equally as contributing valued resources to the partnership (see McQuaid, 2000; Ministry of Social Policy, 2000).

Looking again at figure 8.2, although leaders (particularly the employed local leaders) are targeted as potential leaders for '*leadership capacity building plans*', the extent to which they can use those skills and knowledge to influence actions is still in question. This is because knowledge can be powerful only if it is practically applied in the real context (Beck and Purcell, 2010). This means that despite the acquisition of knowledge, as a means to having power (Rifkin and Pridmore, 2001), local leaders can acquire knowledge but still be powerless to influence other people and actions because they lack the power of decision-making. In this case, capacity building could not play the role of empowerment for local leaders because of the unequal power structure in the system.

To sum up, if leaders (particularly at the top levels) had paid attention to common goals, which would give them an ethical overview, such power imbalances could have been restrained (Northouse, 2010, p.3). This means that leaders' choices and actions are informed and directed by their ethics. For example, excluding voluntary local leaders from district capacity building plans in the name of insufficient funds whilst other leaders have access to the same funds, is an indication of a non-transparent system with high levels of unethical values. This is a system whose leaders do not adhere to ethical and moral values of transparency, accountability, honesty, fairness, integrity and respect (see Morrell and Hartley, 2006a; Northouse, 2010). In fact, deficiency of such values in working places especially those that need collective efforts (such as GCP), leads to failure (Morrell and Hartley, 2006a, p.55).

Chapter 9

Challenges of Practising GCP: the Way Forward?

9.1 Introduction

Community development in the context of GCP working, as discussed in previous chapters (6, 7 and 8), has followed a top-down model, which is based on unequal power relations between GCP actors. Some actors, local people in particular, have appeared passive participants in decisions on their own development, which is the context that has necessitated the analysis of the history and practice of collective working in the GCP framework, in order to explore (from participants' perspectives) the challenges under which GCP is practised as well as opportunities for an improved GCP. This chapter addresses research question 3 (*How can GCP be considered a potential mechanism for education provision in local communities?*). It analyses the tensions (particularly political) that have influenced the practice of GCP in the two clashing historical perspectives – how GCP was practised during *ujamaa*, a socialist society, and in a contemporary society (post-*ujamaa*). The chapter also examines (through the lens of the theoretical framework presented in chapter 4) the extent and nature of network ties, trust and transparency in GCP working in the two periods, as well as the extent to which actions are reciprocated.

The chapter begins by analysing the practice of GCP working (section 9.2) and focuses on the discipline, accountability and commitment to collective work. This was possible during *ujamaa* due to the power of the government and single-party rule, whereas in post-*ujamaa* the tensions have increased due to the complexities in modern societies that put so much weight on individual gain. However, with the importance of collective working for rural development, the chapter is based on participants' views and thereby provides ways upon which GCP can be practised effectively in Tanzanian contemporary society (section 9.3). Contemporary societies are not only subject to political manipulation (Delanty, 2003) but also partnership working is surrounded by complexities due to the diversity of actors with varied perspectives, purpose and power relations (McQuaid, 2000; Bray, 2000b). Finally, the chapter presents the discussion of

findings, integrating findings, literature and the theoretical framework (section 9.4).

9.2 Clash of perspectives in the practice of GCP: *ujamaa* versus contemporary society

It was pointed out in chapter two that the spirit of collective working and community development initiatives was shaped by the political ideology of the country since independence and the *ujamaa* philosophy. It is the purpose of this section to raise the debate from the perspectives of participants, and to analyse the challenges of practising collective working through GCP during and after *ujamaa*. The debate focuses on the differences in discipline and commitment to work during and after *ujamaa* in contemporary society. This section also examines the practice of GCP working in contemporary Tanzanian society, which, it is argued here, is complicated by the misconception of ‘political concepts’ due to the lack of civic education and the non-transparent working relationships that are based on ‘mine’ as opposed to ‘ours’.

9.2.1 *Ujamaa: ‘discipline, courtesy and determination’*

Discipline at work emerged as an important aspect for effective collective development activities. Participants from both districts expressed with pride that the discipline and good manners developed from norms and values of *ujamaa*, had helped them to become committed members in collective work. For example, community member from D2 said:

During *ujamaa*, we had discipline, courtesy, good behaviour and determination for collective development. We worked together and volunteered in any introduced project.

The findings above suggest that collective working accompanied by ‘discipline’ has effective results. It shows a situation where people are well-connected with a strongly networked community based on common goals, indicating the existence of bonding social capital relevant for participation in community development. However, the question that arises here, which might negate the assumed stock of social capital, is whether people were willing to work just because they bought values of *ujamaa* voluntarily and themselves built in a

collective discipline, or rather, it was a discipline imposed by the single-party state, as participants said, ‘they worked collectively in any introduced project’.

Although *ujamaa* could not be maintained due to various reasons including a lack of implementation framework and the domination of party (as discussed in section 2.3), its contribution to the creation of peace and unity among villagers was recognised. Participants explained the benefits of just adhering to the norms and values of *ujamaa*, as this community member from D2 said:

...*ujamaa* was good. We spoke the same language ‘*kushirikiana*’ (working together). We had unity with full of patriotism.

L2 from the same district explained how their tradition had strengthened their unity during *ujamaa*:

...collective working on *ujamaa* days (e.g., building a house, road construction or *shamba* work), we would cook traditional food, sing traditional songs while working. With this spirit, we could work on many acres for a day.

The above findings imply a context where people have trust and are willing to reciprocate actions. However, the achievement of effective collective development needs a society with a genuine collective desire where local leadership and villages have real control over their own affairs. This, perhaps including existing trust and reciprocity would build social capital for collective purposes. Furthermore, discipline, unity and respect for collective work are facilitated by well-arranged and well-supervised activities. Here, people were made aware on the consequences of not engaging in collective work. Local leaders participating in a focus group discussion in D1 explained:

During *ujamaa*, there were proper procedures and arrangements for developmental activities in which every member of the community participated. None of them was ready to pay a fine.

This finding indicates that although plans for activities seemed to be properly arranged and highly supervised, implying effective leadership, it seems people were respectful and worked collectively because they were frightened of being penalised. This means the discipline and commitment to collective work might have been based on threats rather than people’s willingness to work or

‘voluntarism’. The next section analyses ways upon which the compliance to norms and values of *ujamaa* was made possible.

9.2.2 Maintaining discipline for collective working during *ujamaa*: a ‘frightened discipline’

During *ujamaa*, leadership (as noted in section above) played a significant role in maintaining order. Participants’ experiences show the use of pressure through what they referred to as a ‘dictatorship system of leadership’ to make people comply with collective work. For example, community members during focus group discussion in D1 said:

...when the government brought ‘*ujamaa* and self-reliance’, the majority of people volunteered and participated fully because they were frightened. ...if it happened that someone didn’t take part in the collective activities initiated by the government, s/he was caught and harshly punished by being made to pay a fine (cash or some of his/her possessions were confiscated).

Ed2 from D2 explained how people were pressurised to implement *ujamaa* policy:

...most activities were not people’s choice. They were forced to stay in *ujamaa* villages, told to build schools, establish dams, etc. Here the ten-cell leaders were just ordered to bring their ten-households forward for joint work.

The picture that emerges from these findings indicates signs of a ‘frightened discipline’ where people took part in activities as instructed and planned by their leaders and the government. Making people work communally against their will implies non-mutual relationships based on unequal power relations. Such a working environment implies that once the ‘pressure’ imposed to work is removed, collective working is likely to decline.

It was also possible to maintain discipline and commitment to collective work during *ujamaa*, because collective activities benefited from ‘political will’ (party politics), as local leaders during focus group discussion in D1 explained:

...during the single-party system, developmental activities were part of political activities. When top leaders delivered speeches, even shops had to be closed to allow all people to attend.

Implicit, here, is the extent to which government plans are bound to party politics upon which the foundation of discipline in society was built. There was a sense that the discipline for work existing during *ujamaa* was only possible because people did not dare to go against the principles of single-party rule, principles which were based on *ujamaa* and self-reliance. About that time, as local leaders from D2 said during a focus group discussion, ‘a political party leader was automatically a government leader’. In addition, since people were pressurised to work collectively it is difficult to define their network ties. However, it is possible that local people were connected and perhaps built social capital around their extended families during *ujamaa*, but not for collective purposes, for the common good of the village.

In such a working relationship, where local people and leaders seem to be far apart and connected only by pressure and threats that bring them together for collective work, clearly both the decision-making and community development were based on a top-down process. Participants from both districts (community members and local leaders) pointed out that there were not many difficulties in implementing collective activities, as decisions were made from the top. For example, L2 from D1 said:

...There were no discussions or suggestions from people on what had already been planned. Leaders’ order was final. That time laws, rules and regulations must be followed.

The findings above reflect the problems in power structure discussed in chapter 7 and 8. It seems that despite the spirit of togetherness during *ujamaa*, there was limited community power. As such, it is possible that community members would find it difficult to internalise *ujamaa* principles with regard to a collective spirit. It is therefore difficult to see how there could be any investment for collective social capital in a community where the network ties between actors were disconnected or temporary.

Nonetheless, given that the system is still top-down, with power retained at the top levels, it is important to address the difficulties (if any) of maintaining order and discipline for collective work in Tanzanian contemporary society.

9.2.3 Practising GCP in contemporary society: 'lack of civic education'

The previous section has highlighted the use of coercion or pressure, and the threat emanating from the unequal power structure, as a major challenge in retaining the spirit of collective work established during *ujamaa*. This spirit, in contemporary society, has also encountered another critical challenge caused by the misconception local people have of some 'political concepts' (including multi-party, globalisation, human rights, democracy, freedom, good governance and free-market). Participants have associated every wrongdoing, whether by the government, leaders or ordinary local people in community development initiatives, with the 'political concepts'. It would seem from the findings that this either is because GCP communities have their own interpretations of those 'political concepts' or they are taking advantage of the system's weaknesses. L2 from D1 explained:

During *ujamaa*, people were more committed. There were no issues of *good governance* or *freedom* in the way it seems to be practised currently. We are not allowed to pressurise people. Instead, leaders now have to instruct and let them contribute *democratically*, which contrasts with previous practice where order (dictatorship) was highly applied.

A community member from the same district added:

...there is too much *freedom*, the so-called *good governance*, *human rights*. The discipline we had during *ujamaa* has gone. These concepts don't allow people to be pressurized. Some people use them to abuse collective work just because they think they have such *freedom*.

This finding sounds as if during *ujamaa* there were no issues of *democracy* or *good governance*. It may be that since too much pressure or threat was exerted, the majority of local people could not even think of democracy in the course of practising collective work for their development. It implies that collective work (and *ujamaa* principles) can only be compatible with pressure or threats and a 'dictatorship' system of ruling. Again, the misconception of those political concepts indicates the lack of civic education among local people. It might also be that the concepts are too difficult to be applied in a rural context because of the meaning local people attach to them. In order to clear this confusion or

misconception, there is a need for proper civic education programmes whether in formal, non-formal or adult education.

Interestingly, even leaders appeared to be confused by the ‘political concepts’. For instance, L1 from D1 explained the difficulties of supervising collective work in a contemporary society:

...Practising working together nowadays is a huge burden to carry. It is a nightmare. Today is about *multiparty* or *democracy*, tomorrow is *good governance*. Before we figure out or attempt any of these, they come with *human rights*! In fact, we are confused: which is which?

It appeared from the findings that these ‘political concepts’ have not only made the life of collective working complex, but also some people have been using them as tools to cover their misconduct in collective working. As this L2 from D1 said:

Nowadays, with issues of *globalisation*, *good governance* or *human rights*, people use them as weapons against working together. They say ‘*it is my right to ...*’ in fact, the difference is too big compared with life in *ujamaa*, the time of complete unity.

During focus group discussions with community members in D1, they compared the confused ‘concepts’ to the poison of unity and collective working:

The current *ujamaa* (if it is there anyway) has too much *freedom*, which benefits few people. This is a poison to our community well-being. Nowadays, we don’t care about each other as we used to during Nyerere and *ujamaa*. ...The only active gathering is during funerals or weddings.

As pointed out earlier, it seems that civic education is not only lacking among local people, but also local leaders who are expected to facilitate community development activities but who cannot comprehend the meaning and use of those ‘political concepts’. In this circumstance, some people might take advantage of the ambiguities caused by the system to undermine the unity and collective spirit. Due to the complexities in social relationships, participants, as noted in section 9.3 below, have argued for the possibility of restoring *ujamaa* principles. They are concerned with the changes and the growth of individualistic behaviour among GCP actors in contemporary society, which needs serious attention.

9.2.4 Practising GCP in a non-transparent contemporary society: 'Ours' versus 'mine'

The failure to maintain the spirit of working together is mainly because of the unequal power structure and the relaxation of authoritarian rule, as well as the lack of civic education for local people. In addition, misconceptions of the 'political concepts' have decreased the sense of togetherness and, at the same time, there has been an increased level of individualistic behaviour. That means the sense of 'ours' has declined, as this L1 from D2 explained:

...It is a different world. Every individual is after his life. No more *ours*, rather *mine* dominates the practices. Every person now has moved from thinking as 'community' to 'individuality'.

The findings above suggest that individual gain is more powerful in the contemporary world than common good. If local people and their leaders, who are the main actors in the community development process, are experiencing the increase of individualised instincts among themselves, it nullifies the essence of GCP working for collective community development. It indicates problems of poor leadership. A social working environment of this nature suggests a high level of disconnected network ties. That means if individual gain is dominating the development process, it is not possible to locate some specific network ties in society. As shown in figure 8.3, there seem to be various network ties with different purposes, mainly for individual gain. In this case, the stock of social capital might also been built around small groups where their networks have similar interests.

Participants articulated individualised behaviour as the source of corruption among leaders, which lowered the morale for collective work among the local people and increased inequality in society. Equality was among the main principles of *ujamaa*, where people lived a communal life. L2 from D2 explained:

Nowadays, there is no equality. Selfishness makes it difficult to keep discipline because, for instance, a person with lots of money can pay for anything s/he wishes, can even bribe the court to allow him to be clean. ...Corruption is now dangerous. It kills our nation.

Here, participants were using 'selfishness' to describe individuals who were using their political or financial power to bribe or corrupt the system for the

benefit of their family at the expense of the poor majority. From the community perspective, the problem with individualistic people is that they only build the economy of their families, rather than the local economy which could create opportunities for others. Here we see an example of where political power creates loopholes for financial power to flourish. It is a systemic problem caused by a poor governance system. The poor majority, particularly at rural village levels, are the actors most affected. As participants said, they have nothing to bribe with, even if they need to access some necessary social services. The school board members from D2 explained:

...the majority of Tanzanians, even in villages, are now conditioned to see corruption as part of their life and income. You cannot access even common or simple services in offices without bribing someone. Imagine even in delicate sectors like hospital or education you have to pay a doctor or a teacher something extra for the service.

This points clearly to corruption in the system in contemporary society and is incompatible with collective working through GCP relationships. That is why some participants considered corruption as a ‘poison’ to community development at rural levels in particular. At the same time, the majority of participants from both districts acknowledged the efforts made by Mwalimu Nyerere during *ujamaa* to fight against corruption which suggests that, even the time of *ujamaa*, a socialist society, there was the threat of corruption. For example, a community member from D2 said, ‘I really remember *ujamaa*. Nyerere was against corruption’. L1 from the same district explained how corruption and the accumulation of wealth by a few was fought:

During *ujamaa*, if you have many hectares of *shamba* you were called to explain how you got them. Nowadays people can own so many hectares. ...Instead of helping each other, people are competing and the gap is increasing.

However, it does not mean that *ujamaa* existed in a corruption-free society. The fact that leadership during *ujamaa* fought to create a corruption-free society to comply with principles of *ujamaa* – equality and equal sharing of resources – indicates there was a threat of corruption, though it is not clear what kind of corruption. During a focus group discussion in D1, some community members disagreed with their fellow participants regarding a corruption-free *ujamaa*

society. They argued that, ‘During *ujamaa* there was no chance for people’s opinions. They could not talk about anything.’

This evidence suggests that ordinary people could neither question the government and leaders nor talk about the manner in which development processes within their villages were conducted. It was rather a ‘silent-society’ that agreed to orders from the top with no power to question. In addition, during *ujamaa*, ordinary people could only get information from their leaders in villages, while in contemporary Tanzanian societies, there is some advancement in technology where most areas, even in some rural villages, people can acquire information through televisions, radio and newspapers.

Such a social working environment based on individualistic behaviour and corruption or the threat of it, has created ‘distrust’ on the part of community members towards their leaders. It was noted that the morale of the majority of community members for collective working had declined. They do not believe that their contributions are really used for community development activities. Community members from both districts expressed these feelings, implying a lack of feedback from leaders that led to accusations of corruption where funds were raised but no results were seen:

The problem is how should people contribute while they don’t get feedback or even see the buildings. Why should we trust the leaders while nobody knows how and where the funds have gone? (community member, D1).

We contributed cash and labour including supports from donors and individuals for our community secondary school but up to this moment, we have never been told about income and expenditure (community member, D2).

The lack of transparency and the suspicions about corruption had resulted in a deterioration of trust. Ed2 in D1 confirmed this: ‘Community members have no faith in their leaders’. Yet it seemed as if, unlike corruption in the cities, corruption was not a subject for discussion in rural communities, as this community member from D2 remarked:

That is why people are not contributing as they used to do. They believe that they are contributing for leaders and their families.

The findings above imply that if local people do not trust their leaders with their contributions, then the real essence of GCP working for collective community development is weakened or nullified. That means it was, and still is, a coerced or pressurised working relationship, rather than voluntary, consensus-based GCP working. It seems neither of the periods, *ujamaa* or post-*ujamaa* in contemporary society, have ever had effective network ties to reinforce social capital in GCP working for collective community development initiatives. In this case, (as also noted in chapters 7 & 8) community development was and still is limited to the mobilisation and encouragement of local people to work collectively, rather than a more empowering process based on a grassroots bottom-up model.

Furthermore, the main focus of the study is to explore the nature of GCP working in the provision of education, and so far, as previous chapters indicate, GCP has concentrated on school building (though in varying degrees between districts). Despite these concerns, the development of communities through educational attainment is still dependent on collective working through GCP for 'quality' education provision for the rural poor. In this context, GCP working is still a reliable mechanism for socio-economic development of the rural communities. In the next section, participants provide constructive suggestions on how to improve GCP in contemporary society.

9.3 Ways forward for effective GCP

Despite the challenges GCP has encountered, as have been identified in previous chapters and in this chapter in particular, the analysis of findings concurs with other researchers (Bray, 2000b, 2004; Dhillon, 2005; United States Agency for International Development (USAID), 2007; Zacchaeus, 2007) that in developing communities, collective working through partnerships like GCP, are the major reliable solution for rural development. Based on participants' perspectives, three main suggestions were provided as possible ways to uphold GCP and work effectively in contemporary ever-changing societies.

9.3.1 The need to restore *ujamaa* principles

Some participants felt strongly that instead of blaming the nature of contemporary society, including individualism and corruption, for the failure of the collective working spirit, *ujamaa* principles should be restored for the benefit of the poor majority. Participants thought that the majority of the population in rural areas are too poor to help themselves individually. Local leaders from D2 said during a focus group discussion:

We are still very poor. We must work together (*tushirikiane*). There is no way we can abandon *ujamaa*. ...If we want to advance, we must cooperate because individually it can never work.

Ed3 from the same district added:

...We have a saying that '*kidole kimoja hakivunji chawa*' (one finger cannot kill a louse). You need more than one person to make things happen. Working together collaboratively is the only way to achieve development.

A school board member from D2 said:

If I had the power to make a final decision about a proper system for our development, I would have brought *ujamaa* back to the system.

These findings have shown a clear picture of rural community living where mutual help is appreciated and important for collective development. That means people are ready to work collectively and perhaps to prevent a few people getting rich over the majority. However, it was not clear whether they would love to have *ujamaa* back with its imposed discipline which, as evidence has demonstrated, was a 'frightened discipline'. Since changes in society are inevitable, bringing back *ujamaa* and expecting it to work in current complex societies is a challenge that is compounded by political tensions. For example, the original *ujamaa* was attached to party politics in a single-party governing system (see chapter 2) while currently the ruling party CCM (operating in multi-party system) seems to embrace the legacy of single-party politics (chapter 7).

Participants were aware of these political tensions which, as evidence in this study shows, have undermined the spirit of collective work. Thus, participants had clear ideas on the kind of *ujamaa* they wanted to restore for effective GCP

in contemporary society. They want *ujamaa* which separate *maendeleo* (developmental) activities from politics. For example, a community member from D1 explained:

...indeed, I support the idea of bringing *ujamaa* back to the system, but it has to come as an independent entity which does not align itself to any political party. Let it come as part of the government system but not political.

Political parties and the politics of the country, as discussed in previous chapters, especially in chapter 7, have always been viewed as a primary blockage in the realisation of rural development. However, evidence from this study (chapters 7 & 8) suggests that planning developmental initiatives (even under *ujamaa* principles) as a separate plan from political parties' agendas is impossible while the fate of community development activities is determined by the politics of political parties and the power structure. In addition, most of the leaders or government officials (top levels in particular) who make final decisions about development plans are affiliated to, and guided by, party politics.

Another reason why principles of *ujamaa* should be restored is access to social services. Participants said that access to social services was guaranteed to almost all citizen regardless of poverty or geographical location. They praised the system of *ujamaa* (led by Mwalimu Nyerere) which reduced classes in society. Ed3 from D2 explained:

...People went to school free, some up to university. Nyerere didn't divide poor and rich. He wanted equal services (equality). Imagine, almost all the people holding top positions, making policies or any decisions, had enjoyed free and quality education during Nyerere and *ujamaa*. Although schools were few, they provided the best education

The school board member from D1 added:

...if we bring back *ujamaa*, there will be no schools for the rich and for the poor. All children who pass their exams will have equal opportunity to access quality education. I will always praise *ujamaa*.

Based on the above findings, the need to restore *ujamaa* appears to be a significant phenomenon for the development of the rural poor. Again, if schools

were few during *ujamaa*, and participants said they delivered quality education, this indicates a limited access to schools, implying that fewer people had access to education, and thus there was no equality. In other words, the majority who did not have access to the available few schools engaged in collective farming activities while a few, who perhaps were the government officials, enjoyed quality education. In this case, real equality during *ujamaa* is in question.

However, despite these assumed illusions of ‘equality’ and ‘equal opportunity’ during *ujamaa*, local people (from the perspective of the participants) still place high value on *ujamaa* compared with current practice. The major challenge (for the government and local authorities) might be how to build all forms of social capital for effective community development at rural levels, while the networking system for collective activity seems to be poor. In fact, without proper network ties (see figure 4.1) it might be difficult or even impossible to build social capital, where mutuality and reciprocity are guaranteed, for all individuals to access social services. In addition, there might be a possibility of having decent provision of social services, honest officials and collective working in the villages, without *ujamaa*, but only if it is built on genuine human rights, democracy and good governance. However, participants might have preferred *ujamaa* as an immediate reconstruction of the lost collective spirit because other alternatives have to do with the ‘political concepts’, which as discussed earlier have negative connotations for them.

9.3.2 [Re]activate adult education classes and community education

There was a sense that the focus of GCP on the provision of education in contemporary society had moved away from adult and community education, which was highly promoted during *ujamaa*. As Ed3 from D2 explained:

After Nyerere announced the philosophy of *ujamaa* and self-reliance, he told people to stay in *ujamaa* villages in which ‘adult education programmes’ were established around 1970s. People were taught many issues concerning development (agriculture, livestock, health, education, and politics). Adult education became very strong and active in the ‘70s/‘80s, but now – *mmhh!*

The loss of adult education classes, which was associated with the lack of funds to run such classes, were keenly felt by members of the community, especially the older members. These classes, according to the participants, had raised awareness of the importance of education for the future. As community member from D2 said:

The government has forgotten other kinds of education, which are not classroom-based. It is vital that people are made aware that only education can pull them out of poverty. I mean community education including seminars, workshops or anything.

In addition, adult education classes²⁷ ensured that people understood about the need to participate in community activities as well as how to work collectively. Currently however, this is not happening and thus participation procedures are not clear. There seemed to be cases of resistance from some people, which made it difficult to get full cooperation for GCP working. The school head from D1 explained:

...I think collective activities during *ujamaa* were successful as they went hand-in-hand with adult education classes. People learned about participation in these classes, so when they are told to contribute and participate in either *shamba*, or any social work, they complied willingly and voluntarily because of the understanding and unity they had built.

Participants expressed the need to have an opportunity to come together to learn, share and discuss social and economic issues in society including policy. This would mean adult education classes would provide the opportunity for people to become aware of the changes taking place in contemporary society and their causes. In the process, they would learn how they could participate to meet the challenges. However, in order to run adult classes and the related training for effective GCP working, funds were a major concern. As Ed2 from D2 explained:

...for the community, there should also be seminars or workshops, but we don't have funds for that. The community needs to understand the

²⁷ In the Tanzanian context, 'adult education classes' is a place where adults meet (normally in the evening in primary schools rooms) and receive literacy skills (3Rs - reading, writing and numeracy) and knowledge regarding agriculture, livestock and other economic activities as well as politics. These classes, in the *ujamaa* era, were used to spread the word about socio-economic and political changes – i.e., to help people understand the national policies of socialism and self-reliance so they could fully take part.

policies, vision and mission for education and have the opportunity to air their views, which could help.

A school head from D1 explained the potential value of these classes for the current practice of GCP:

If there were adult education classes, all issues concerning freedom, globalisation, human rights, free-market, and changes in the world could have been introduced and taught in these classes. ...Now, instead of involving people, we are forcing them to participate.

A community member from D1 considered adult education classes as important for educating young people and youths who unfortunately did not get the chance to learn the norms and values of *ujamaa*:

...I believe that if youths are sensitised they can take part in both public and private activities. ...Only adult education classes can bring them together.

The findings above have demonstrated the importance of adult and community education in a contemporary and complicated society. Apart from educating people to adapt the current practice of community development activities while maintaining the spirit of togetherness, adult education classes might be a starting point to create the missing network ties among people in their communities. This then would reinforce the building of social capital for effective community development activities in GCP working relationships.

9.3.3 Community-based research and wider context partnerships

Since poverty is high in rural areas, where GCP is mostly to be found, a thorough investigation of the economic circumstances of the rural areas was considered indispensable before community members are asked to establish and participate in community development activities. Community development official (CDO) from D2 said:

...in order to improve community participation we need to undertake a 'poverty analysis' before involving community members.

Participants had clear ideas about both the research they wanted carried out and its purpose towards building effective GCP for the development of rural communities. The CDO from D2 suggested an example as followed:

Let's say the project before us is the building of more classrooms, where the community is expected to contribute 20%. Have we carried out a poverty analysis of those particular rural areas to determine their capacity to contribute? Let's say an analysis of village A, B & C shows that Villages A & C are economically well-off compared to B. Now, tell me, will the contribution of 20% from each village work? It is impossible. Let us look for criteria for community development activities.

At this stage, as participants suggest, there is a need to look outside the local communities and the country for expertise, answers and support. This suggests the use of the country's experts in research, where universities were considered to have an important research role to play. Another CDO from district1 said that university expertise is valued and respected at local levels. This official acknowledged the availability of experts all over the country, at universities, in government, both central and local.

In addition, participants saw universities, through research, as key to improving the quality of education, which in turn would ensure that schools in rural areas perform as well as those in the urban areas. In that case, schools in rural areas would be able to send students to university, as Ed2 from D2 explained:

We would love if (people from the universities) could come to schools and meet rural people. Through research, they can develop ideas that can boost community secondary school students and eventually universities will enrol quality students as well.

Universities were seen as detached from rural problems, as their staff, habitually, come to the schools in their university teaching capacity to observe their student teachers. There was no work being carried out to look at the contexts of rural schools. Ed2 from D2 said:

...The problem with most universities is that they only visit schools in villages during teaching practice to assess their students and leave immediately without even knowing the other problems or challenges these schools face.

It was suggested that universities and rural schools should construct and maintain communication networks for the sharing of research findings and experiences, thereby maximising the benefit to local communities, regions and the country as a whole. For example, Ed2 from D1 said:

It will be healthy if universities could establish communication networks with both community members and education officials. If this can be done for almost every district, there will certainly be positive change in divisions, districts, regions and finally the whole country.

These universities, as the education officials pointed out, should work closely with groups within the GCP (e.g., by divisions) so that they had a responsibility to see that the schools they were working with succeeded, as Ed2 from D1 explained:

Universities may deal with people and schools from, let's say, division XXXX. Then the successes and failures of these schools within that division will be part and parcel of a certain university – UDSM, DUCE, or Mzumbe University – to reflect upon further.

Furthermore, participants were concerned with the provision of quality schooling and thought that it should not be left to the communities and the government alone. Instead, contributions from other organisations and institutions, including universities, are needed too. Ed2 from D2 said:

...I think one of the strategies is to remove the limitation that only village/community or government are responsible for public schools. We need to go beyond and involve other institutions that can contribute in one way or another for people's development within their areas.

In this case, there was a need, some participants thought, to situate the work of the GCP in a wider context. In fact, the GCP had made headway at rural level but they needed support from others (as pointed out above), including universities and organisations from both within and outside Tanzania to learn collectively and develop the work further. As this Ed2 from D2 explained:

We need to change and involve specialists from community-based organisations (CBOs), non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and international organisations (INGOs). They can provide ideas regarding the development of education in specific areas; e.g. for

environmental issues invite NGOs that deal with environment rather than limiting the provision of education to only government and communities. Other institutions, both private and public, may also be encouraged to contribute ideas and improve quality.

Further to these suggestions, whilst community members recognised the value of partnerships with universities and other institutions, they also had reservations about their staff's capacity to work with them in this way in the present rural context. It seemed they thought that these staff had to undertake some initial bridge-building and to create some trust and mutual understanding, before advances were possible. A CDO from D2 explained:

...remember that most of the poor people live in rural areas. But people (the experts/staffs) come from the cities to mobilise 'rural' people to build schools while their own children are studying in the city or abroad and are enjoying quality education.

Being much better off, the people from the city were well-dressed and looked different from those in the villages who did not take kindly to being spoken down to or 'preached' at about community participation when it was they who were the experts. The main concern was the difference between the urban-based rich bureaucrats and the rural poor. As CDO from D1 explained:

People from the village are left far behind on low incomes compared to their urban counterparts. Look, apart from their fellow poor village leaders, people who come to villages to preach 'working together' look different. Their clothes are nice from the city, and they look well-off. This puts people off. That is why Mwalimu Nyerere was against the gap between rich and poor.

In general, the findings presented in this section have shown the need to invite more partners in GCP working in order to improve the existing partnership. This, ideally, suggests the extension of networks relationships into wider perspectives to include other actors (rather than only government and community) from both inside and outside the country, which would reinforce the building of bonding and linking social capital. That means, instead of education provision relying on GCP, other institutions such as universities, should have some roles to play, especially the role of research, as well as CBOs, NGOs and INGOs to provide supports in terms of ideas, expertise and funds. However, with the nature of the power structure observed in this study, unless power relations are re-defined

and the actors involved become real-partners, creating genuine network ties for collective action might remain the basic challenge.

9.4 Discussion of findings

This chapter has explored the challenges under which GCP was practised. The purpose was to analyse the tensions, particularly political tensions, that have influenced the practice of collective work through GCP working relationships in two clashing historical perspectives (*ujamaa* and post-*ujamaa* in a contemporary society). The chapter also suggests ways upon which GCP can be effectively practised in Tanzanian contemporary society, as seen from participants' views. Contemporary societies are not only subject to political manipulation (Delanty, 2003), but also actors involved in GCP are diverse with complexities caused by differences in perspectives, purpose, interest and power relations (see McQuaid, 2000; Bray, 2000b).

Ujamaa villages were established to implement the national ideology of socialism and self-reliance as laid down by the party in the Arusha Declaration in 1967, when Mwalimu Nyerere (the first president of Tanzania) urged for the development process to begin at the lowest rural level of society in order to build a socialist self-reliant country (see Nyerere, 1967; Meredith, 2006). To strengthen such a movement, the principles of *ujamaa* [that people should live together, own the means of production jointly, work together and share the fruits of their labour equally] were incorporated into government politics and TANU, the political party (Hyden, 2008). Therefore, during *ujamaa*, the spirit of community collective work was shaped by government politics and TANU.

Based on *ujamaa* principles and the government and party plans, the community development aims and practices, as Collins (1972, p.176) pointed out, had followed self-help initiatives by encouraging villagers to cooperate for the development of rural villages. Community development in this case had followed government-led practice rather than community/grassroots initiatives. Contrary to this, Freire (1993) suggests that the grassroots (through a radical community development model) take the opportunity for change without the influence of bureaucrats or politicians. However, as the analysis of findings indicates, a model such as Freire's would not be possible because of the power vested in the

party and government. In fact, the excessive power of the government and TANU party has limited the communities' power to govern themselves and control their own activities (Collins, 1972), despite Nyerere's mission for voluntarism and persuasion rather than force (Hyden, 2008, p.54).

Talking about force in this context, participants clearly expressed their experiences of the use of pressure as a way of promoting *ujamaa* activities. People had experienced a rather frightened social working environment including being pressurised to stay in *ujamaa* villages. This might be obvious since, as noted earlier, principles of *ujamaa* were highly compounded in government and party politics where *ujamaa* activities, as community development practice, were planned and supervised.

The evidence from the findings has shown that people worked together for any project introduced. This was and still is a typical top-down model of community development since even Nyerere, who pioneered the principles of *ujamaa*, was condemned for driving socialism and self-reliance in a way that Meredith (2006, p.250) calls 'virtually single-handedly'. He lacked supporters with a commitment to socialism and self-reliance. Such a socio-economic movement seems to have been pushed through without the prospect of popular radical change including for the working-class. In the Meredith's words, and as it seems to be the case, it was Nyerere's own aspirations and ideology which determined the government's policy and practice. It was a top-down approach to community development with unequal power relations between actors. Instead of the government and TANU building the desired socialist 'self-reliant society', they created a 'silent society'. In other words, as Chachage (2010) also argued, people's voices and minds were controlled to not question the *status quo*. This shows that *ujamaa* and the self-reliance movement had no structured hearing format for ordinary people, a vital aspect of the decision-making process (Crosby *et al.*, 1986, p.171).

Participants had described the leadership style during *ujamaa* as a 'dictatorship' rule of governing, such that any active voluntarism and/or participation was successful because they were frightened of having to pay a fine or their property being confiscated. This and the principles of *ujamaa* were inculcated into people's minds as a way of building a socialist self-reliant society. It might be

the way to make people accept and obey the *status quo*. In that way, people had no choice but to learn to live together as 'we'. That is, people have to internalise the idea of sharing values of mutual respect and solidarity (UNESCO, 1998).

However, creating such a deliberately composed social working environment is not an automatic act, but rather it becomes possible only when people are living in geographically located areas, one that Tett (2010) refers to as a 'community of locality' (e.g., *ujamaa* villages). This context (*ujamaa* villages) forms what Dorienzo (2007) calls a 'social-web' where the level of interdependence is higher and backed up with collective capacity. As Mulenga (2001, p.450) also pointed out, the spirit of communal lifestyle in African societies is based on cooperation through mutual responsibility in all aspects of life for the common good. Communities of this nature (the case of *ujamaa* villages) are easy to mobilise and organise for community participation in collective work (see Delanty, 2003, p.42).

Looking at the nature of social working relationships during *ujamaa*, and as observed in previous chapters, there seem to be no traceable proper network ties built among the GCP actors for collective working. In fact, if there are any inbuilt 'collective' network ties, strong or weak, among villagers and leaders, it was just a temporary phenomenon due to the tensions of *ujamaa* politics. In addition, actions in terms of collective working on the part of villagers were reciprocated because of 'frightened' obedience, as a response to orders from the government and party. As such, even the networks that seem to exist among the government and party leaders might be fictional because of too much power invested in the leadership of Nyerere, as noted earlier.

Furthermore, discipline, hard work and commitment to collective activities, was insisted upon during *ujamaa*, participants said. Mwakikagila (2006) writing in *Tanzania Under Mwalimu Nyerere*, described clearly that for national prosperity to be distributed fairly, everybody had to work to the maximum of his ability. Mwakikagila (2006, p.55) noted Nyerere's words that:

In our country, work should be something to be proud of, and laziness, drunkenness and idleness should be things to be ashamed of.

In this case, during *ujamaa*, work, and working hard in particular, reflected the principles of *ujamaa* and of socialism and self-reliance. People had therefore not only internalised those principles but also adhered to the norms and values of working together, as pointed out earlier, and as participants expressed: there was no way one could go against government and party plans.

However, although the discipline and commitment to collective work was a ‘frightened discipline’ rather than an authentic one, local people at some point had witnessed a real sense of togetherness and equality, especially among villagers. Participants described *ujamaa* as a period of ‘complete unity’. In fact, some participants, comparing the practice of collective community development between *ujamaa* and post-*ujamaa* in contemporary society, urged for the return of *ujamaa* principles in the system. It was noted in the findings that in the 1960s-80s, there was ‘equality’ such that provision of social services (including education or health) was almost equal for all people. They said there were no schools or hospitals exclusively for the rich or the poor; equal opportunity was Nyerere’s motto. Mwakikagila (2006, p.59) reinforces such views:

The masses and the poor will always remember the Arusha Declaration as a political manifesto and an economic blue print. It accorded them dignity as equal citizens ... made it possible for them to get free education and medical services provided by the government.

This opportunity for equal access to social services was manifested in 1969, the year of ‘nationalisation’. In this epoch, according to Chedié *et al.* (2000, p.9, 23), the government, by way of implementing the principles of equality and equal sharing of public resources, made all social services become for the ‘public good’. This meant that all private, missionary and non-governmental services, including schools, were nationalised. This is the essence of *ujamaa* and Nyerere’s politics of equality, which participants praised. However, since the schools were very few, and thus very few people had access, the ‘real equality’ especially for the rural poor, is still questionable. This also implies that collective working (farming) was for the uneducated people.

In addition, poor people proposed the return of *ujamaa* in the system because they feel neglected due to the free-market economy in contemporary society. Relevant literature has shown that since the country (in the late 1980s) started

to favour market-oriented approaches to social services (including the liberalisation of the economy and privatisation of public sectors) the poor have suffered most (see Kaiser, 1996; Makongo and Mbilinyi, 2003). This was the reason why Nyerere was reluctant to accept the idea of a 'free-market economy' because it sounded incompatible with the concepts of self-reliance and *ujamaa* orientation (Kaiser, 1996). However, as discovered in this study, decisions regarding developmental activities (since *ujamaa*) have followed a top-down model with an unequal power structure, implying that most problems are not only caused by the free-market but also the inefficiency of government systems and corruption among the bureaucrats, politicians and top-level officials. This is the context to local people finding themselves in difficult circumstances and thus trying to look back to *ujamaa* as the solution, similar to Freire's (1993) term, 'a mythical better time of magical consciousness'. Instead, for a better future for rural communities there needs to be a responsive government and governance system, a people-led policy and good leadership.

Participants were aware of the political tensions in current multi-party politics, thus the *ujamaa* they want is one that is not affiliated to any political party. However, experience (as discovered in this chapter and in chapter 7) shows that ruling political party policies and government plans are inseparable. They are strategically fused together to control power (see Miti, 1980; Peter, 2000; Makulilo and Raphael, 2010). In fact, the discipline and commitment to collective work which existed during *ujamaa* under a single-party ruling, as explained earlier, succeeded due to the power of party (TANU). As Mwakikagila (2006) also pointed out, the single-party system played a critical role in maintaining national unity by instilling an egalitarian ideal. This meant that the reins of power and the power structure were settled within the government and party, a typical top-down approach to community development.

In this case, the separation of developmental activities from party politics in a contemporary society would be impossible under the current 'divisive politics' (a typical feature of multi-party democracies where most political parties or politicians and government bureaucrats tend to promote their own interests at the expense of the nation (see Mwakikagila, 2006). It is a situation of obvious political tensions where the decisions about policies and practices for community development activities have continued to be determined by the

government and the ruling party. As the analysis of findings implies, the current ruling party has embraced the legacy of single-party rule. As such, neither the local people nor their leaders at the grassroots levels have had access to the power structure to decide on the mode of their development. It appears that local people have been lobbied, manipulated or deceived into believing that they hold power in decisions about development, while in reality all powers are held at the top (Crosby *et al.*, 1986, p.171), see also figure 7.1.

Much of the tension in such an unhealthy social working relationship in GCP seems to be confined within a complicated power structure. That means some government reforms that preached about and assumed to hand over power in decisions for community development activities to local communities through ‘bottom-up’ participatory approach (e.g., the Decentralisation Reform of 1972 (see Maro, 1990; Semboja and Therkildsen, 1994) or the recent Opportunities and Obstacles of Development (O&OD) (URT, 2009b) were fictional. This is similar to what Delanty (2003) calls ‘political manipulation’, a distinctive characteristic of leaders in modern communities in the process of seeking power, resources and public participation for socio-economic development. This suggests a failure in the governance system. That means the system could not prepare a structure that would capture local people’s voices for decentralisation in order to improve accountability and commitment. Instead, local governments are sympathetic to local power-elites (see Bardhan, 2002, p.202).

In addition, in the practice of GCP, in terms of how actors are involved, local people’s participation could fall into a *non-participation* or *tokenism* level as shown in the ‘ladder of participation’ (figure 3.1). In these levels local people are just consulted, manipulated and informed about decisions made by the power-holders (Arnstein, 1969, p.217), or what Bray (2000b) calls *pseudo-participation*, as also noted in previous chapters. In this case, it is obvious that GCP working did not adhere to the principles of effective partnership presented in figures 3.4 and 3.5. In this context, participation of the poor, powerless people in exercising political and economic power is blocked by the powerful actors whose interests are driven by personal greed (see UNDP, 1993, p.28).

In such a working environment, GCP, and perhaps the *ujamaa* principles, can only be genuinely practised when the resources and power are redefined,

restructured and redistributed (see Ledwith, 2011), as well as a bottom-up community development that is based on leadership training and increased collective power to villages. If community development is practised in such a context, it plays a significant role in building social capital, as Bhattacharyya (2004) suggests. Similarly, Phillips and Pittman (2009, p.3) observed that in African countries community development was an important device to get people together to improve their social and economic wellbeing after the Second World War.

However, from the evidence noted in this study, the community development model has tended to follow government and political party aspirations rather than community/grassroots-led practice, which has undermined the practice of GCP. In this case, unless there is proper model for community development, the proposed return to *ujamaa* principles would not make GCP effective for rural development. Perhaps a suitable model might have a critical juxtaposition of *first*, a *populistic* thinking where rural people are perceived as agent of, and capable for change (Shaeffer, 1994); *second*, Paulo Freire's transformatory independent radical model where the opportunity for change is in the hands of local people and not given by politicians (Freire, 1993); and *third*, the inclusive Assets-Based Community Development (ABCD) model, which recognises the capacities of local people for building their powerful communities (see Kretzmann and McKnight, 1993; Mathie and Cunningham, 2003; Haines, 2009; Russell, 2009; O'Leary *et al.*, 2011).

In the ABCD model, as O'Leary *et al.* (2011, p.7) pointed out, every community (isolated, rural or poor in GCP for example) has resources and assets that when carefully considered and invested create new resources in the form of capital. As in Freire's model, ABCD believes that local people in communities can organise themselves to drive the development process. What they need is encouragement to recognise their knowledge, skills and experiences in identifying the sources of problems and solving them (Mathie and Cunningham, 2003, p.474), rather than being looked down on as passive inactive actors. That is why Dongier *et al.* (2002) has acknowledged the need to treat local people genuinely as both assets and real partners.

However, in GCP working relationships in contemporary society, as participants explained, government leaders, bureaucrats, and politicians have become more individualistic with their focus based on individualised (mine) rather than community good (ours). This might be caused by a poor governance system where powerful actors take advantage of the system's weaknesses because that is where their network ties are strongly attached.

This, as participants said, has increased cases of corruption in society to the extent that people are said to be conditioned to see corruption as a normal 'source of income'. Indeed, despite the progress noted in reducing corruption through good governance in Tanzania (URT, 2010a), corruption is still a challenge to equitable development (UNDP, 2011). The main problem for most African countries, Tanzania included, is the lack of national framework to combat corruption (APRMS, 2008). While some government documents and other reports praise the national plans and commitment to dealing with corruption (URT, 1999, 2010a; Taylor, 2010), the reality on the ground, as observed in this study, suggests that poor local people spend a lot in bribes for social services (see also APRMS, 2008, p.16). Kaufman and colleagues (2009, p.5) noted such discrepancies between theory and practice as the result of corruption. It is therefore necessary for governments to practise laws and reduce the misuse of networks that are built around a power structure which benefits the powerful actors (see Woolcock and Narayan, 2000).

Looking at the *ujamaa* era, participants praised Nyerere's efforts in dealing with issues that seemed to promote corruption. He discouraged party leaders and government personnel from occupying many hectares of land or from having more than one income in private business or even rents (see Ergas, 1980; Pratt, 1999). Nyerere was once quoted in a magazine article (Mihangwa, 2011) warning leaders not to use their power to exploit others and accumulating wealth.

Participants also said the corrupt state was affecting their well-being, as they had to bribe to access social services. Leaders and government personnel who demand bribes in exchange for social services, seem to have lacked moral and ethical values that could lead them to do justice for the community good (see Morrell and Hartley, 2006a; Northouse, 2010). This has to do with aspects related to transparency, commitment and accountability. As Dongier *et al.*

(2002) observed, if leaders had taken hold of these aspects, the community could have been protected from corruption by the powerful.

Individualistic behaviour and corruption in contemporary GCP working imply a lack of transparency. Such a distrustful social working environment, where local people have lost faith in their leaders and government bureaucrats, has undermined the ideal GCP in which community contributions were and still are the most reliable source of resources. Bienziel *et al.* (2007) warned about the risk of cooperative actions due to the unprotected nature of action based on a trusted part. In order to maintain relationships, the trusted part is obliged to be trustworthy (Coleman, 1990), so that objectives are achieved with less difficulty (Bienzle *et al.*, 2007).

The reality of GCP working is complex, with success depending on the extent to which both actors are responsible for, and committed to working together in harmony (Bray, 2000a, p.32). For actors to work together, Wilcox (1994) argued that they do not necessarily need to be equal in skills, funds or even confidence. The most important factors are trust and commitment towards achieving the agreed goals. In fact trust, as Dhillon (2009, p.697) suggests, is a necessary condition for effective partnership working. Other factors include transparency, accountability and equal power relations (Bray, 2000a; Pinkus, 2005; Dhillon, 2009). Trust underpins successful relationships amongst actors that constitute a partnership. Trust and other social aspects, such as networks and shared values, become the 'social glue' which hold the partnership together (see Dhillon, 2005, p.215).

Furthermore, embedded in such complex GCP social working relationships is the tension around how to improve GCP for rural community development. Including the earlier suggestion of returning *ujamaa* principles to the system in contemporary society, participants also felt the need to revitalise adult and community education, which went hand-in-hand with *ujamaa* movements but seemed to be forgotten or ignored as important in education provision. Education for all was integral to self-reliance, with Nyerere's mission to give whole generations, especially illiterate adults, access both to learning and to collective decision-making, particularly in the rural areas, in the same spirit as Dewey's (1938 [1963]) concept of education was tied to social action. Nyerere

(1973) believed the first priority in adult education was that people must understand the plans for development and be able to participate in any necessary changes within their country. The importance of adult education classes is recognised as vital in many ways, participants said. These classes would create awareness regarding the social, political and economic changes happening in a complex contemporary society.

Under Nyerere, the role of education was to give individuals a sense of commitment to the whole community by inculcating the social goals of living and working together for the common good (Nyerere, 1967). The adult education classes at the time of the introduction of *ujamaa* into the rural areas, were remembered by participants, in particular the older community members, as being a means of promoting Tanzanian self-reliance. Stöger-Eising (2000, p.137) writes on the '*Indigenous African Echoes that Reverberate through Nyerere's Writings*'. The African roots of *ujamaa*, combined with the adult education classes were, in the memory and experience of community members, strengthening and empowering. From the evidence, these qualities and the therefore the adult classes, are needed now for younger GCP actors to be able to learn (outside formal schooling) and demonstrate their usefulness in collective work.

In addition, from the evidence, current practice seems to lack a proper framework of plans for the government to provide political or civic education to society through radio programme campaigns, as it was previously. The literature shows that even in the school curriculum and textbooks (in Education for Self-Reliance, 1967), political education was included as an integral part of training to create awareness among children and young people on the socio-economic conditions of the nation (see Cameron, 1980; Maliyamkono, 1980). In practising GCP in the current situation of political tensions, adult education classes would serve the purpose of educating people not only for participation, but also could help to clear people's confusions and misconceptions about the 'political concepts' which participants thought confused their collective spirit (democracy, globalisation, human rights, freedom, good governance, and the free-market).

It was noted earlier that neither of the periods in which GCP was practised have demonstrated the existence of network ties and social capital among the actors involved in GCP, which explains the failure of collective community development activities. In fact, social theorists have made it clear that the existence of network ties, connections and actions that are mutually reciprocated, form social capital for social and economic prosperity in society (see Coleman, 1990; Putnam, 2000; Prell, 2003; Moody and Paxton, 2009). As such, adult education classes would perhaps bring together people from different backgrounds, ages, experiences and status to discuss, and thereby create networks and social capital for mutual benefit. What is needed, as Coleman (1990, p.321) might suggest, is a structure that maintains any inbuilt social capital. It needs to be renewed frequently since values and norms depend on regular interactions to uphold expectations and obligations. In addition, GCP working must also be re-defined, explaining clearly its purpose, which actors are involved, and when and how actions are to be performed; it has to consider the proper stages for developing an effective partnership (see McQuaid, 2000, p.13-22).

However, despite the principle of self-reliance emphasised by Nyerere as fundamental to collective decision-making, as was noted earlier, one of the means of achieving this, through adult education classes, has been greatly reduced by funding being re-directed into basic education, particularly primary. This is part of the MDGs in facilitating developing countries to achieve UPE by 2015. In the act of meeting MDGs, the education of poor adults has suffered from chronic neglect by governments (see Stromquist and Monkman, 2000, p.16). A similar concern was pointed during the *Sixth International Conference on Adult Education* - CONFINTEA VI (UNESCO, 2010b) that in most governments, adult learning and the education sector is fragmented and stands at the borders of established education policy terrains. It needs to be strengthened by good governance and policies for adults to continue learning. Some of these adults never went to school or, if they went, they did not learn sufficiently and they have to learn new phenomenon in society. Adult education, as Stromquist and Monkman noted, has lacked policy support, which lead to limited funding. Instead, most of the funding has been directed to other projects including capacity building, which as noted in chapter 8, is not fairly practiced. Community members were very conscious of how this adversely affected their

ability to engage in political discourse and were clear that they had not been consulted. This is because the power of decision-making is limited to the top level.

A further tension seems to be located around the disparity of income between those coming from the towns and cities (mostly from universities and NGOs) and those in the rural areas, resulting in distrust and a fear of being preached at. This indicates the differences between the urban-based rich bureaucrats and the rural-based poor. This is what Nyerere had worked hard to avoid, the divided class society (see Stöger-Eising, 2000, p.130). Participants spoke of the need for 'communication networks' between rural communities and the universities which would enhance collective learning and knowledge-building for the community, but there is also a need to build the qualities of trust, transparency, accountability and equal power relations identified as important in developing such partnerships (see Bray, 2000a; Pinkus, 2005; Dhillon, 2009).

Participants draw attention to the need for economic analysis of the resources available in rural areas to provide a sound basis for successful GCP. Of immediate concern at local level is the poor income and resources in the rural areas so that it becomes particularly important that the cost of providing schooling is equitable. For a thorough and genuine investigation of the economic circumstances of the rural areas, local people must be involved in planning, managing and decision-making because they have a vital role in conveying local issues and influencing proposals that will affect their lives (see Longworth and Osborne, 2010a, p.64), and to do this they have to be well-informed, they say. Carrying out basic research on the local economy will facilitate equitable and more effective community involvement and enable the members to have control over meeting the challenges they face (see also Kamando and Doyle, 2013). It will also strengthen mutual relationships because of regular interactions.

The research capabilities of the universities are needed by the communities to help them improve the quality of education. There is still some way to go with this. Those university staff with whom the community members had already had contact were not giving them the impression that they were interested in engaging in research with the communities. This suggests that some bridge-building would need to be a precursor to any collaboration or partnership.

However, despite the awareness of the importance of universities through research in socio-economic changes in rural and country development (GUNi, 2014), the major challenge of research conducted in Africa is the influence of funders, policy-makers and practitioners, what Preece (2011, p.100) refers to as 'commissioned research'. This is because as Preece pointed out, in the process of research, issues to investigate and evaluation procedures are defined by policy-makers and/or funding agencies. The GUNi report on *Higher education and Community Engagement* also pointed out that the neoliberal model detected by the World Bank and IMF had led to a decline in capacity of the development of research strategies across African universities (GUNi, 2014, p.144). This practice is similar to the 'readymade' policies or plans which resulted from top-down government-led initiatives observed in chapter 7. The extent to which universities and university staff can conduct research that benefits rural people to transform their communities remains a key challenge for university-community research collaboration.

Participants found it unacceptable that staff from the universities came to visit the trainee teachers as part of their course, but did not seem interested in the school environment and the school's concerns. They were clear that the universities should be taking more interest and conducting research on the schools to help them improve. Longworth and Osborne (2010b, p.2) describe how universities, through their community engagement mission, can contribute to the growth of communities and regions, helping them to become learning entities by providing them with research and information for developmental strategies. Again, Schuetze (2010, p.24) explains, collaboration is an interactive process between communities and universities, each with diverse knowledge and resources, working together to generate solutions for complex problems.

From the research carried out by universities, community members expected them to develop a closer relationship so that the universities could work with allocated schools in partnership rather than just university staff and students visiting schools in rural areas mainly to assess students' mastery of subject during teaching practice. Preece *et al.* (2012) suggest that the failure of community engagement services in African universities is partly caused by the focus on the service learning projects in which during student placements practice the interaction between universities and placement organisations is not

given value. Here participants wanted universities to engage with and between the GCP and there is also an indication that they saw this as leading to wider collaborative partnerships in which community members played an important part in policy-making.

Significantly, although in relation to the local communities the universities were seen as key institutions with which to form networks, collaborations and partnerships, when it came to extending that collaboration, the focus of the participants turned not to their own national resources in GCP, but to the NGOs and INGOs. Here is an indication of extending networks to external partners, the essence that Kadushin (2012) refers to as 'triad relationships', which facilitate the building of bridging and linking social capital, and bring together different social groups from different layers of society (Pichler and Wallace, 2007). However, when it comes to resources and financial resources in particular upon which most African governments depend on through international aid, as Preece *et al.* (2012, p.13) have remarked, civil society organisations and institutions are competing for the same funds with the need to respond to donors' agenda - a typical top-down practice. As such, the extent to which such an extended partnership would benefit the local people remains a challenge.

Although adding more partners in relationships increases complexity, as Kadushin suggests, Bienzle *et al.* (2007) have argued that it increases resource acquisition, information exchange, solidarity and support in GCP working. In addition, Castells (2010, p.501) maintains that modern societies are dynamic where networks are open-structures with no limits in expansion. However, he also warned the new partners to adhere to the values and communication nodes in order to avoid threatening the balance of the partnership.

The debate about the role of universities in developing countries centres on the idea that knowledge is a crucial tool for overcoming underdevelopment (Sutz, 2005) but also for empowering those at local level. Universities have a key role to play here, for example as mechanisms for action-oriented learning processes through their research, that is, providing expert knowledge to society and working in partnership with communities to create more. The evidence from this study suggests that whilst there is an enthusiasm from rural community members and local leaders to access the skills and knowledge of universities, there is also

a reticence on the part of community members to become involved. Mohrman (2010, p.154), in her review of *'University Community Engagement Case Studies'* writes that a number of the studies 'use words like mutuality and reciprocity to describe successful partnerships'. She also noted that it is 'sometimes hard for students and faculty to move from a service model, in which experts tell community groups what would be best for them, to a true partnership in which local citizens have equal voice in the decision-making process' (Mohrman, 2010, p.155).

Chapter 10

Conclusions

10.1 Introduction

The overarching aim of this study has been to explore the nature of government-community partnership (GCP) in the provision of education in rural communities in Tanzania. Investing in education, as noted in this study (chapter 6) and in various literature (Nyerere, 1967; World Bank, 1996; Omari, 1999; Malale, 2002; UNESCO, 2011b; Mtey and Sulle, 2013) has been recognised as the best way towards a better future life for individuals, particularly young people. Partnership working (such as GCP) has been considered as the best mechanism for giving the poor majority opportunity and access to education (Bray, 2000b, 2004; Dhillon, 2005; United States Agency for International Development (USAID), 2007). In Tanzania, like other developing countries, provision of education (primary and secondary levels) is a collaborative task of various groups including local communities (that is GCP).

However, despite various efforts through established educational programmes and reforms, poverty levels are still high, particularly in rural areas, suggesting that efforts to reduce poverty through education have not yet produced significant results. The study focused on how GCP works, based on the experiences, perspectives and challenges of the people living in those communities, for whom GCP provides educational opportunities. The data for this study were collected over six months (September 2010 to February 2011) in two rural districts in Tanzania, using a qualitative multiple-case study approach, which provided the opportunity to gather information in the real-life context of natural settings (Yin, 2003a) while recognising the complexity of a social phenomenon (like GCP) and its contexts (Ritchie, 2003).

In writing this account, the analysis and discussion of findings have adopted a framework offered by the theories of social networks and social capital (figure 4.1). The main assumption derived from the two theories is that when a social phenomenon (GCP) is based on a genuine networking structure with both strong and weak network ties, and where actions are mutually reciprocated with

mutual trust and equal power relations among actors involved in the GCP, it is possible to invest in the social capital necessary for the social and economic development of rural communities. This means that the nature of network ties that actor(s) have to others, may support or constrain opportunities for actors' access to resources (Daly, 2010a).

By investigating GCP in two different districts in terms of geographical location and historical background (socially, economically and culturally), as described in section 5.5, chapter 5, the study expected significant differences in the practice of GCP between the districts. However, as the analysis of findings shows (in chapters 6, 7, 8 and 9) the main differences, as observed in chapter 6, are the value of education, and attitudes towards collective work, in which D2 showed positive attitudes. Again, when it comes to working together in a GCP manner (with the complex nature of GCP working relationships and the diversification of actors involved), the tensions increase and perhaps any differences become invisible.

In this concluding chapter, *firstly*, in section 10.2 the chapter summarises the main findings based on the themes discussed in chapters 6, 7, 8 and 9 while addressing the research questions that guided the study (sections 10.2.1, 10.2.2, and 10.2.3); *secondly*, in section 10.3, based on the analysis of findings and conclusions drawn from findings, the chapter offers the implications of the study; *thirdly*, section 10.4 outlines limitations of the study and recommendations of possible areas for further research; and *fourth*, section 10.5 addresses research questions 4 & 5 by reflecting on the GCP working context and experiences, whether the theoretical framework has effectively helped to explain GCP and the extent to which GCP working relationships have facilitated the creation of social capital in the community. Final remarks about the study are presented in section 10.6.

10.2 Summary of the main findings

The purpose of this section is to summarise the results of the study while addressing the research questions that have guided the study.

10.2.1 *The nature of Government-Community Partnership*

This section summarises the findings discussed in chapter 6, which addressed research question 1: *Under what conditions do local communities participate effectively as partners with government in education and community development activities?* This question sought to investigate the nature of GCP working in rural communities, that is, to find the factors behind motives for local people's participation in GCP and whether there is any mutual understanding of the part of actors in GCP working relationships, or any equitable consultation among the partners in participating for education and community development activities.

It was clear from the findings that local people's perspectives on community participation in GCP have an economic explanation believing in the spirit of joint effort as a means to poverty reduction for rural development. The study found that the value attached to education is that it is perceived among individuals to have economic power (particularly the young people) and is a major motive for people's participation in GCP educational related activities. In D2, this aspiration was accompanied by a strong socio-cultural spirit based on working together in the social setting of *msaragambo*, suggesting a high level of bonding social capital based on a strong-networked community. In such a relationship, the majority of local people developed positive attitudes towards collective working in educational development activities. The evidence shows that education is valued as a significant means to individuals and community advancement because of the belief that an educated person has a high chance of securing employment in a competitive labour market. However, GCP policy and plans appeared to give more importance to school buildings than to other important aspects of educational provision, which became a disappointment to the local people, and the schooling process has not yet facilitated their children to progress to further learning. This indicates a lack of reciprocity of actions, which has demoralised local people's collective spirit.

In D1, on the other hand, some participants described local people as 'lazy', having negative attitudes towards collective working and thus attaching low value to education and community development. However, the evidence suggests that people in D1 are not indifferent and difficult, as they were

described, rather they have been disillusioned by the government's inefficiency in responding to local people's needs. For that reason, as findings suggest, local people have been deterred from collective work because they feel that their investment is not paying back sufficiently. They thought that their children would pass examinations and succeed to a higher level of education where job opportunities seem to be guaranteed. Here is a situation where the government and leaders are blaming the victim (community) to avoid challenges about how policies and plans were formulated and implemented. This indicates that actions in GCP working relationships were not reciprocated. There may be problems in the power structure that limits local people's ability to challenge the government's responsibilities, especially when power in society is viewed in zero-sum terms, which decreases the power of the poor and therefore the direction of society and national goals are seen only from the eyes of the most powerful actors (Mayo and Craig, 1995). The problem may also be in the leadership's capacity to bring local people together for proper GCP, as discovered in chapter 8, in that local leaders' powers have been limited to rubber-stamping decisions from above.

It was established that contributions for financing education in GCP working were, rather, a kind of masking practice where communities were not aware of, or were confused about, what exactly they should offer. Findings show that there was no clear description of how should people contribute. Such a working relationship indicates a non-mutual understanding of actors' roles in GCP. The findings show that although education provision in GCP working seemed to concentrate on building many schools, still D1 had a shortage of schools compared to the population as explained on page 139. D2 on the other hand, had made efforts based on the tradition of *msaragambo* and on its extended networks to secure support from external sources to reduce the shortage of school buildings, as explained in page 139, implying the existence of linking social capital.

From the study, it was evident that GCP is a complicated partnership which lacks the reciprocation of planned responsibilities among the actors. Sadly, the GCP, which was expected to facilitate the provision of 'quality' education to the 'young' local people for their future economic life, could not deliver, perhaps because of focusing on 'school buildings' and ignoring other equally important

education factors (as discussed in chapter 7). This suggests that the success of the government policy to build so many schools will ultimately lead to the collapse of collective working. The study observed a threat of losing the labour force for collective working at rural levels as young people had chosen to move to the cities (rural-urban migration), searching elsewhere for greener pastures (employment).

The findings suggest that young people are generally not interested in collective work. Instead, they engage in small businesses and economy generating activities, mostly for individual gain or a hand-to-mouth earning, which do not add value to rural development. From a network perspective, it indicates that young people have their own network ties with different values and tightly bound social capital which defines their world. Even D2 with its strong socio-cultural tradition of working together, could not transmit values of collective spirit to the younger generation, implying a networking breakdown between the older and younger generations.

The study concluded that GCP working reflects the complex nature of partnerships, which in most cases resulted from how it was formulated and whether all actors had the chance to understand their part (McQuaid, 2000). When local people, as actors in GCP working, are masked or disillusioned by other powerful actors, it nullifies the reality of partnership working in which aspects about objectives, actors involved and power relations have to be clear to avoid confusion (see McQuaid, 2000; Pinkus, 2005). Clearly, it is an unhealthy social working relationship where actions are based on weak reciprocity, meaning only one actor is playing their part (Warner, 2001; Kadushin, 2012).

10.2.2 *Micro-politics in GCP related policy: ‘Power relations’*

This section summarises findings discussed in chapters 7 & 8, which addressed research question 2: *In what ways does the government involve local communities in education and community development activities?* The concern of this research question was how decision-making for education and community development related policies were carried out, that is, to find out how local people and local leaders are part of the decision-making process and

implementation procedures for their development. In an attempt to address this question, various issues were explored.

The study discovered a mismatch between the ideal practice of the policy-making process and implementation framework, and the reality on the ground. That is, official documents suggested that in the policy making process, a diversity of views from various groups in society including local people from rural areas should be obtained, indicating a democratic political practice in a contemporary society. However, the findings show that local people, despite being the main actor in GCP working, have remained passive participants carrying out predefined decisions for developmental activities including education. Sadly, even the mode of implementation of the chosen policy was being decided at the top level without the views and consent of the implementers (local people). As such, the implementation plans for education related activities have been top-down decisions on policy and planning. This indicates that GCP works in an environment that is controlled by the dominant powerful actors rather than one of mutual social interaction. Such practice has prevented the creation of productive networks between actors for collective development.

In addition, the evidence shows that local people were given the false impression that they had power over their development, particularly education, while the reality is 'bottom-up planning in top-down decisions', as presented in figure 7.1. A good example is the illusory idea of the 'O&OD' participatory approach to community development activities and the tokenistic nature of general meetings. These General meetings were being conducted at village level (figure 7.1) where local people gathered in a social setting to decide on village action plans with collective decisions. Instead, they became a place where local people met to bless and approve the pre-defined plans. While Gramsci (1971) suggests that the power of people is central to collective action and that local people have knowledge and experience of their environment, problems and how to solve them (URT, 1999; Rifkin and Pridmore, 2001), it was clear from the evidence that powerful actors, including politicians, are self-seeking actors who carry out actions to favour their desire for power retention (Osman, 2002; Keohane, 2010).

In a working environment of this nature, local people have chosen to give up collective working because of the unequal power structure excluding them from being real partners in GCP working and the system in general. Here the process is controlled by the hegemonic power where local people's mind are colonised by the dominant actors (see Gramsci, 1971). There seems to be a lack of an empowerment structure and environment where local people can question the power-holders or the system. A community development process of this nature is rather flawed and perhaps its essence in GCP working is nullified, as it undermines the opportunity for productive social networks at local levels.

As Arnstein's ladder of participation presented in figure 3.1 shows, local people's opinions do not carry much weight in decisions and soliciting them is just a tokenistic practice (see Arnstein, 1969, p.217). For this, the evidence suggests that local people have developed fatalistic feelings of powerlessness in dealing with their development collectively. The nature of the power structure, government inefficiency, inconsistency of plans, misuse of community resources and lack of communication networks between top and local levels are among the factors that block local people from breaking the feelings of powerlessness. This prevents them from building network ties and social capital to challenge the power-holders.

Moreover, the unequal power structure, which implies a poor leadership and governance system in GCP working for community development, had affected the commitment and accountability of local leadership. The findings show that the nature of selection and appointment procedures (figure 8.1) as well as the capacity building plans (figure 8.2) were based on '*undugunization*' (favouritism), rather than an authentic procedure which considers the merits, capabilities and level of commitment in communal work. Here, local people's views and consent about their leaders were not incorporated in the procedures. Leadership of this nature (imposed from above), would be likely to represent and serve the well-being of the authority to maintain their leadership position (see also Shaeffer, 1994, p.43). As analysis of the findings suggests, such a context makes it difficult for local leaders to create close relationships with local people, while ideally, for a successful local leadership, local leaders need to interact and cooperate with the people they are supposed to serve (see Hassan and Silong, 2008; Northouse, 2010).

From a network perspective, local leaders would be expected to have strong network ties with top-level leaders (who put them in leadership positions), however, as findings suggest, their leadership networks were disconnected because of unequal power relations between them (see figure 8.3). Sadly, local leaders themselves were also disconnected with various network ties, creating sub-groups that cannot work in harmony for the common good (Bray, 2003) because the selection procedures had divided them into employed versus voluntary leaders (figure 8.1).

The findings show that local leaders' power has been limited to a mere blessing of the pre-defined decisions and rubber-stamping them for implementation. This made them unconfident and powerless to both execute community activities authentically and to question the wrong actions of the top leaders. Due to these leadership tensions, local leaders' main roles, as evidence shows, were limited to mobilisation and encouraging local people to participate in collective community development activities. If the GCP practice had followed a bottom-up empowerment process, local people would not need to be mobilised or encouraged. In other words, local people would voluntarily participate if they were considered real actors in GCP working.

In addition, the study found that the task of 'mobilisation and encouragement' was not effectively carried out because local leaders lacked important leadership skills. Local leaders, especially the voluntary leaders, were excluded from the capacity building plan with the excuse of limited resources, while other top officials including politicians and the employed leaders were enjoying these opportunity (see figure 8.2). In fact, capacity building training, seminars or workshops would not only provide local leaders with skills and techniques for dealing with local people's problems, but also give them confidence, power and motivation. It is unfortunate that leaders who have the opportunity for capacity building, as findings imply, instead of visiting communities they oversee community activities through a 'remote control' style from their offices. This means the top leadership level is detached from interactions with local levels, thereby losing the opportunity for building the bridging and linking social capital necessary for local levels to access resources including power.

The study also observed that while politicians are supposed to inspire and mobilise local people, awaken their aspirations and empower them for rural community development (URT, 1996), instead they manipulate them with false promises during political campaigns. Here local people are disillusioned with voting for politicians because they believed that they would be accountable and responsive to community needs yet when they fail to be accountable and committed, there are no clear mechanisms to vote them out (REPOA, 2008). As such, local people become too powerless to question the denial of their rights and demands, because the power structure has silenced them from being active and real actors. Such unhealthy working relationships may have been caused by the poor and unresponsive governance system which neglects the needs of the poor majority. As Bardhan (2002) argues, most developing countries lack structures for local accountability.

Another tension observed in this study, as discussed in chapter 7 is that the top leaders' and politicians' interests have focussed on shining on political stages, announcing numbers of schools and an increase in enrolment. The findings show that most of these schools are unfinished and sub-standard with inadequate teaching-learning supplies and an extreme shortage of teachers. Additionally, most teachers are not motivated and live in miserable conditions. This, as participants said, has affected the quality of education for rural children, which puts their parents off active participation in collective work. In this case, GCP working has neither been able to provide relevant and quality education nor to reduce poverty among the poor rural majority as expected.

It was further noted that schools located in rural areas, particularly public and community or ward schools, are more affected than those in urban areas. Education in this case seems to be a commodity where only the well-to-do households (the urban bureaucrats or a few other wealthy people) can afford to buy quality education in 'private schools'. In these schools, as findings show, the possibility that children can succeed to further learning is high, meaning there is a greater opportunity to compete in the labour market. In this context, there is a danger of employment sectors (public and private) being occupied by the children of well-off households, while the rural poor children remain poor.

The study concludes that GCP working is a weak partnership, established without adhering to the principles of effective partnership (McQuaid, 2000) presented in figures 3.4 and 3.5. This indicates that in establishing GCP there was no agreement (between local people, local leaders and the top leaders) on the purpose, type of key actors, their roles and power relations. It is therefore safe to argue that 'real' GCP does not exist; rather it is just the mere involvement of local people in implementing government plans in the name of a participatory approach. The GCP working environment, as appears in figures 8.2 and 8.3, implies the exclusion of other GCP actors in the community development process. This, as McQuaid (2000) also suggests, might be a deliberate action by the powerful actors to allow them include agendas that fit their personal interests. Again, this is an indication of a poor governance system of community development, which has followed a top-down government-led model, rather than a bottom-up empowerment process.

Generally, GCP is a social phenomenon in which its actions and actors are working in an unhealthy social environment that is neither interactive nor reciprocal, with a lack of communication networks, unequal power relations, loosely and disconnected network ties and weak partner relationships. Both the social and political tensions created by the powerful actors keen to promote their own and their families' welfare above the collective have been among the major barriers to the possibility of employing weak ties (informal interactions) that could bring together the disconnected social groups (see Burt, 1992) and build social capital for collective community development.

10.2.3 *Challenges and opportunities for an improved GCP*

This section summarises findings discussed in chapter 9, which addressed research question 3: *How can GCP be considered a potential mechanism for education provision in local communities?* This was concerned with the practice of GCP working, reflecting the challenges it encountered in two different historical development stages (*ujamaa* and *post-ujamaa* in contemporary Tanzania); and whether GCP is the right approach for quality educational opportunities for the poor majority in rural communities. Generally, most of the challenges that GCP has encountered in both periods are systemic problems

caused by poor governance and leadership as well as the unequal distribution of power among the GCP actors.

While the government, through the philosophy of *ujamaa* in 1960s, aspired to create a socialist self-reliant society (based on the principles of equality, cooperation and equal sharing of public resources), instead it created a *silent-society*, one in which its confidence and power were limited to accepting the *status quo* in a new governing system of single-party politics. From the findings, it appears that the discipline and commitment to collective working during *ujamaa* were reinforced by pressure and threats from the power of leadership and party politics which formed a somewhat ‘frightened discipline’ instead. This implies that once the ‘pressure’ imposed to work is removed; collective working is likely to decline. Such a social working environment does not allow GCP actors to build network ties and invest some stock in social capital for sustainable collective community development.

The practice of GCP in post-*ujamaa* contemporary Tanzania, as the evidence shows, is more complicated than during *ujamaa*. The social and political tensions of multi-party politics and the unequal power structure among the GCP actors have undermined the unity and spirit of collective working in community development activities. The analysis of findings shows that due to such tensions (which explain the weaknesses in governing system and leadership) there lacks a structured system for civic education in both the school/formal education system and the non-formal education system including adult education. This is because participants (community members and local leaders) expressed their confusion in understanding the meaning and practice of some ‘political concepts’ (including *multi-party*, *globalisation*, *human rights*, *democracy*, *freedom*, *good governance* and *free-market economy*).

Another challenge of practising GCP in contemporary Tanzanian society is the growing culture of individualised behaviour among the GCP actors. This behaviour, as findings suggest, has undermined the sense of ‘ours’ – a significant aspect that strengthens collective spirit. Instead, there have been incidences of corruption (in terms of bribes). People have to offer something to access social services or to get away from problems, especially in courts. The rural poor are affected most because they have nothing to bribe.

Unlike during *ujamaa*, where the threat of corruption was fought hard by Nyerere (it was a crime to accumulate wealth from extra earning in business, rent, or owning too many hectares of land). Post-*ujamaa* in contemporary Tanzanian society seems to embrace corruption to the extent that it is seen as a normal source of income, participants said. However, such behaviour might be a survival strategy due to poor or infrequent wages in government posts, or, as Brodie (2012) explained during the '*Big Thinking Lecture*', is a response to neoliberal market solutions to social problems which tell individuals to be self-sufficient market actors. In another publication (*Reforming Social Justice in Neoliberal Times*) Brodie (2007, p.104) accuses the neoliberal creators and the individualised state, that, instead of empowering people to adapt to structural change, they are abandoned to devise personal strategies to survive forces beyond their control which leads to individualised rather than collective behaviour. This context is contrary to theories that encourage collective instincts of mutual social relationships for communal gain, particularly in developing countries.

The common feature that emerged from the two historical periods (as also observed in chapter 7), was that powerful actors in GCP working relationships and the system in general are driven by the hegemonic power to dominate local people's thinking, opinions or views (see also Gramsci, 1971). This has stopped them questioning any wrongdoing at the top, whilst as Gilchrist (2009) suggests, challenging the power of oppressive practices is a crucial aspect of community development. Therefore, local people have given up collective working. The findings also show that neither *ujamaa* nor post-*ujamaa* in contemporary Tanzanian society has demonstrated the existence of a proper structure where local people's voices and opinions for collective decision-making could be heard. Rather, local people have been manipulated and deceived that they hold power for their development while the real power in decision-making has remained with the top levels (see also Crosby *et al.*, 1986, p.171). The community development model in this case has been limited to the mobilisation of resources and encouraging local people to participate in 'predetermined' developmental activities rather than an empowered bottom-up model. With this social working environment, as also noted in previous chapters, there have been difficulties in not only defining network ties (strong and weak), but also whether GCP is real or

fictional. In that context, there has not been the proper creation of any form of social capital for collective working.

Notwithstanding the challenges GCP encountered, there are windows of opportunities, which if well utilised could improve GCP practice to work effectively in a complex diversified contemporary society for rural community development. First, the context under which GCP is practised, in the current world of a free-market under the politics of the neoliberal economy, has threatened the economy and social cohesion, created inequality and classes in society, denied local people's rights to quality social services, and increased poverty level among the rural people (see also Brodie, 2012, p.124). Therefore, some participants (especially the older members) thought that the *ujamaa* era was better in enforcing collective working and thus suggested restoring *ujamaa* principles in the current practice of GCP. Being aware of politics, they cautioned the separation of *ujamaa* principles in GCP working from political party affiliation. However, this might be difficult, as evidence has shown that government and the political party (during both the single-party and multi-party systems) determine the mode of community development. In that context, such a suggestion would be possible only if local people become the agents of their own development, which needs a 'redistribution of power structure' (Ledwith, 2011) with an environment that allows local people to claim and retain power (Gilchrist, 2009), rather than a previous top-down or party and government-led system of *ujamaa*. In other words, the practice of GCP in contemporary Tanzanian society can only adopt the spirit of *ujamaa*, a collective-run system where grassroots level is empowered through a bottom-up model of development.

The second suggestion that went hand-in-hand with *ujamaa* movements, but seems to have been abandoned in contemporary Tanzanian development plans, is 'adult education classes'. Participants considered the significance of re-activating the lost or forgotten 'adult education classes' in order to effectively practise GCP in an ever-changing complex contemporary society. Adult education classes during *ujamaa* were useful not only for literacy skills, but also to help people understand the politics of socialist and national building and the policy of socialism and self-reliance so they could participate fully. Perhaps, the contemporary Tanzanian society could adopt a more open model of adult

education that allows people to explore themselves in meeting their needs, rather than the ujamaa adult education system that followed government instructions. Here, there is a need for adult education classes to go beyond creating political awareness and community participation, and include various vocational skills especially for the young rural people.

Practising GCP in contemporary society, adult education classes would create awareness of the socio-economic changes in society and facilitate the importance of collective participation. At the same time, these classes would help to clear people's misconceptions of the 'political concepts' and their impact in social, political and economic development. Investing in adult education classes in a rural Tanzanian context would provide young people in particular with the opportunities to learn various skills for cooperation and self-reliance and thereby be equipped with the confidence to engage in political discourse for rural development (see Kamando and Doyle, 2013). There is also a possibility of creating the missing network ties and various stocks of social capital as people from various groups would have the opportunity to come together and discuss their social, political and economic issues. It is also recognised that learning in adult education not only creates awareness and consciousness, but also empowers people and plays a significant role in poverty reduction (see Nyerere, 1978; UNESCO, 2009).

However, despite understanding the significant role adult education plays in national development, including achieving all the MDGs which UNESCO (2009) suggests go hand-in-hand with relevant adult education programmes, this important area of education has been starved of funds (Samoff and Carrol, 2003). This is because, with the conditions from donors in poor countries, the focus of funding for education provision has been re-directed into basic education, particularly primary and secondary levels. There is a case for a deliberate effort from governments and donors to consider funding adult education programmes.

Lastly, the findings have suggested the need for community-based research in a wider-context of partnerships with universities, NGOs and INGOs. This is a vital element in GCP working as it highlights the possibility of various actors sharing expertise, ideas, resources and experiences for the education and community

development of the rural populace. Instead of universities only visiting schools in rural villages to observe their student teachers, they were considered to have an important research role to play in the development of schools/education and the community. Working in an extended partnership such as this could be expected to build communication networks with rural communities.

However, as in the case of adult education programmes, funds remain a critical challenge despite the recognition of the imperative for universities in Africa to develop their research capability (see Pouris, 2010; Kotecha, 2012) in achieving MDGs and to raise their development. The context within Tanzania, as in other poor countries, is based on the commitment to meet MDGs in which policies and practices are dictated by the funders (World Bank and IMF) in the name of 'aid conditionalities'. In fact, Guhan (1998) has noted the effect of aid conditionalities in recipient countries, namely that they undermine the quality of governance. With the economic dependency of poor countries, donors are directly involved in public sector reforms in Tanzania. Therkildsen (2000) has noted the invisibleness of domestic political support in reform packages.

10.3 Implications of the study's findings

There are pertinent issues that have underpinned the conclusions drawn from the findings of this study, that is, whether GCP is the right mechanism for strengthening education provision and reduces poverty in rural Tanzania; also whether there are opportunities of creating the missing network ties and investing in social capital for effective GCP working in contemporary society where the community development model is flawed because of government-led decisions and unequal power relations among the GCP actors in the community development process. Clearly, evidence from this study has demonstrated that the contested nature of practising GCP for education and community development of the rural communities is a systemic problem resulting from a poor power structure. Apparently, in GCP working, as Craig (2011) also noted, rural communities are structurally disadvantaged, with power and resources being disproportionately distributed because they are labelled as poor and powerless. Based on this account, a number of implications were thought significant.

Firstly, there is no doubt that GCP, like other partnerships, is comprised of a diverse set of actors. As concluded in this study, GCP is working within, and built with, multiple and complex relationships (see also Bray, 2000b; McQuaid, 2000). The unequal power structure appears to be a major source of failure for GCP working where the most powerful actors, including government officials, bureaucrats and politicians, make decisions for the majority of local people and local leaders. As such, people and leaders at local levels have developed feelings of powerlessness. Such feelings have not only blocking them from questioning any wrongdoing of the powerful actors, but also they cannot decide on the fate of their development in the provision of education for their children's future. In other words, the dominant and powerful actors (in both governing system, single and multi-party) have created a culture of silence at local levels.

Clearly, if a practice of that nature is left uncontrolled and unbalanced, it is highly likely that the future of collective working through the GCP framework might decline or vanish completely. If that happens, the majority, the rural poor, might suffer the most with an increased poverty level. However, although the real transfer of power to local levels is rare (Pigg, 2002), Freire (1993) suggests that powerless oppressed people have to recognise the necessity to fight for power and liberate themselves, maybe through the existing models of village meetings and/or via the ten-cell leadership system. This is possible only if policy-makers and planners re-establish GCP with power being 'redefined' and mutually 'redistributed' among GCP actors. Perhaps policy-makers and planners could adopt McQuaid's (2000, p.13-22) principles of effective partnership (see figures 3.4 & 3.5) to overcome such a challenge. This might reduce the growing discrepancy between policy statements and the actual practice of GCP working for community development and increase accountability and commitment in collective work for common good.

Secondly, the importance of strong, effective and accountable leadership at local levels can never be over-emphasised. Local leaders in most community development activities at local or rural levels are the closest leaders to the local people and sometimes share the same problems. As such, if their power in GCP working, as this study observed, will be limited to 'rubber-stamping' the ready-made or predetermined decisions, and their roles limited to mobilisation and encouraging people to work collectively, there is a danger of ruling out the

meaning of local leadership and creating difficulties in realising genuine collective community development. This, of course, is the result of uneven capacity and power inequalities among GCP actors, which challenge the building of genuine partnership working (see Craig, 2011). Therefore, the need for capacity building (such as problem solving skills, management skills, social judgement skills and general leadership knowledge as well as adult psychology, participants suggested) among the local leaders and local people is imperative. It will not only improve their skills, but also it can empower them and rebuild local leaders' lost confidence in dealing with community problems.

Thirdly, the top-down model of community development and community participation as revealed in this study is a limited model and has now become part of the problem in education and rural development. It is unfortunate that neither of the periods under which GCP was practised (*ujamaa* and post-*ujamaa* in contemporary society) have shown a structure where the decision-making process incorporated the views and opinions of people at local levels in particular. The failure of GCP working is embedded in the tensions of an unequal power structure. This implies the obvious picture of incompatibility between GCP working (which is based on collective perspectives) and the top-down model of developmental activities, which is driven by individualistic instincts. As such, unless there is a structure or framework that captures ordinary local people's voices, opinions, knowledge, experiences and perspectives to be considered in decision-making for development, there is a high possibility of crisis in society with an increase in poverty levels rather than a reduction.

Fourthly, based on this study and other relevant sources (Nyerere, 1967; World Bank, 1996; Omari, 1999; Malale, 2002; UNESCO, 2011b; Mtey and Sulle, 2013), it is candidly recognised that the education, particularly if it is good quality education, that individuals receive has a huge impact on their future lives. However, the practice of GCP in education provision for rural Tanzanians seemed to have encountered challenges such as unequal power relations, bureaucracy, limited community development models, inadequate financing, and inadequate policies. Above all is the confusion of building schools without effective education provision.

As the experiences of investing in education in sub-Saharan Africa show the remarkable progress in enrolment (see UNESCO, 2011a; World Bank, 2011), education provision in Tanzania (see URT, 2012) and GCP experiences in particular, is no different. The focus on increasing enrolment necessitates the need to increase the number of school buildings, especially classrooms. This has undermined the provision of quality education and the progression to further learning for competitiveness in the labour market. However, with the privatisation and liberalisation policies of the free-market economy, in most cases, only well-to-do households can afford to school their children in private schools. These schools, as evidence shows (chapter 7) and (Mulengeki, 2004), offer quality education because they are business-oriented and thus must be well-equipped. In this case, as also Stromquist and Monkman (2000) claim, education has lost its public good. Therefore, unless policy-makers and planners redirect their focus of policy and plans in improving the quality of education in public schools, there will be no rural poverty reduction. And, with the noted decline of collective working, despite the government's meagre resources, eventually it will have to take full responsibility for education provision.

Lastly, owing to the fact that GCP working is a complicated social phenomenon, which has been working in unhealthy environments because the power structure is skewed at the top officials' side, allowing them to be uncommitted and not accountable to rural development, it has been proven that planned actions in GCP are not mutually reciprocated; neither are actors mutually connected to work collectively. It appears (as presented in figure 8.3 on page 201) that GCP has loosely and disconnected network ties that cannot be mutually reciprocated to work collectively for community good. It seems GCP have various networks (with varying degrees of interests, purpose and power) but neither between nor within these networks were there signs of strong or weak ties or connections. To remedy this, GCP working could not invest in any form of social capital (bonding, bridging or linking) for the purposes of collective gain. Therefore, unless government bureaucrats or top leaders extend their network ties to local levels (based on a re-defined GCP with power being re-distributed to all networks fairly), GCP as a collective phenomenon cannot build social capital and there will be no poverty reduction in rural communities.

In addition, if the community development model is going to follow a bottom-up process in future GCP working, then the possibility of building social capital will be higher. Importantly, if this happens, there might be possibilities for local people to break out of their powerlessness and hence to build network ties and social capital that would challenge the power-holders and thereby reduce the misuse of networks built around a power structure, which benefits a few powerful actors.

Alternatively, GCP has made some headway at rural levels and still remains a reliable solution for socio-economic development as it facilitates the collaborative pooling of resources from various sources by sharing experiences, expertise and mutual support among actors to achieve the intended goals, rather than those of an individual actor. This is possible (as findings also suggest) if GCP can extend its networks to include other actors from internal and external networks in a context of wider partnerships (including universities, NGOs and INGOs). However, the issue of power relations has to be considered for an improved partnership to work effectively for genuine community development in rural Tanzania. The advantage of extending networks is not only the pooling resources, expertise and knowledge, but there is also a possibility of creating or improving network ties and thereby building social capital for effective GCP working relationships. Working together in this manner – extending networks into wider-context partnerships – can act as a check-and-balance device between actors' actions, hence controlling the excessive power at top levels and reducing the misuse of power for individual benefit.

Furthermore, for wider partnerships like those suggested to achieve the intended goals, it is healthy to utilise local knowledge and resources, which might empower local people. Local resources include (a) embracing the people's culture such as the inbuilt socio-cultural tradition of *msaragambo* and utilising it, learning from it, empowering and encouraging people to solve their problems collectively, perhaps through an asset-based community development approach (see section 3.2.4). Again, this might facilitate the creation of a social-web pulling people together to build bonding social capital. (b) The genuine use of general meetings and community or adult education classes. In fact, these might not only bring people together (in a local democratic way) and facilitate networking and social capital building, but also could be vital in facilitating

learning and knowledge exchange. By letting local people engaging effectively in general meetings and adult education classes, the possibility of ‘empowerment’ at local levels is high as people would get to understand things properly, upgrade and use their capacity to have better control, as well as gain power over their lives (see also Gilchrist, 2009).

10.4 Limitations of the study and recommendations for further research

Based on the fact that the scope of the study for this research was limited to the exploration of partnership working between the government and the community (GCP) in the provision of education with the specific target of rural communities, some issues which are equally important, might have been given limited attention in the process of focusing to the study’s premises.

First, the study did not consider the role of other actors in the provision of education for rural communities. These could be organisations (public, private and community-based), higher learning institutions and international organisations. The fundamental need to invite other actors to join GCP working for rural community development (in the manner of extending networks in partnership working) was also pointed out in this study in chapter 9. Some studies have focused on the partnerships between public and private or civil society organisations (PPPs) and discovered an improvement in teaching and learning environments in schools due to the resource capacity of private organisations, for example, in Tanzania (Rwiza, 2004), Senegal (Nordtveit, 2005) and Botswana (Sedisa, 2008). However, some PPPs, like Nordtveit’s, have encountered problems resulting from tensions in free-market economy system where the private provider becomes business-oriented rather than balancing business aims for community well-being. This area is likely to remain fertile for further research. The focus could be on the perspectives and experiences of such partnerships, and whether rural communities are part of those partnerships.

Secondly, focusing on the nature of GCP working in rural communities with the idea that poverty is much higher in rural areas than in urban areas, the attention of the study did not include a look at the other picture of GCP working with

urban communities. Bray (2000b) writing in '*Thematic Studies of Community Partnership in Education*', has made clear that 'even poor countries may have rich communities, just as rich countries have poor communities' (p.3). Therefore, there could be poor communities in urban areas, and this may be an area worthy of investigation in the future to find out how GCP works with urban communities in the provision of education.

Thirdly, another equally important theme that could not be given enough attention in this study is the status and quality of teachers and teacher education. Since the GCP study was based on rural areas, both rural districts have been disappointed with the low quality of education their children had been receiving, implying that education has not facilitated poverty reduction among the rural poor. Among other causes of low education quality (chapter 7) is teachers' low morale, as the teaching-learning and living environment are discouraging factors, and their value as 'teachers' in current GCP working has been reduced. UNICEF (2011) writing about '*Education and Equity Strategy for Disadvantage Groups*', reinforces the idea that educational outcomes for children depend on teachers. Future research needs to investigate the extent to which GCP addresses the issues of teacher education, recruitment, retention, professional development, teaching conditions, and whether these issues are centrally controlled and the extent to which rural communities have a say over teachers' related issues for school/education and rural development.

The fourth and final direction for further inquiry is the issue of gender and GCP working. Some sources have noted that men and youths are more mobile than females (Southall and Gutkind, 1956; Mitchell, 1959; Ishumi, 1984; Brown, 1991), and in some African countries e.g., Zimbabwe in the 1980s, Brown (1991), for instance, noticed an increased number of men going to the towns or over the border to look for work. This implies that women and older people were left at home (in rural villages in particular) to carry on with both household chores and socio-economic issues. This study has also noted the majority of young people moving to cities looking for employment opportunities. This becomes an area worth exploring, whether gender is a problem in GCP working relationships; whether women experience things the same way men do; and the extent to which the power structure in GCP working is balanced in terms of gender. It is also important to find out the extent to which GCP involves women in leadership

roles. Perhaps it would make a difference in GCP working if women were more actively involved.

10.5 Reflection on the theoretical framework in the study of GCP

From the findings presented, analysed and discussed in chapters 6, 7, 8, & 9, this section examines whether the proposed GCP networking framework developed from the theories of social networks and social capital (as presented in figure 4.1, chapter 4) has helped to conceptualise and explain GCP working for education provision. It also examines the extent to which GCP working relationships have facilitated the creation of social capital in the Tanzanian context. This section addresses research questions 4 & 5 (see section 1.3, chapter 1).

First, from the evidence, various network ties were identified in GCP working experiences. They were mainly built around small groups that were based on social, cultural, economic or power relations. For example, community members in D2 showed strong network ties built through the socio-cultural tradition of *msaragambo*. Young people from both districts appeared to have their own networks that pulled them together for economic activities. There were strong networks also built around power spheres among the government leaders, bureaucrats and politicians for individual gain and power retention. Though it was not apparent, the newcomers in D1 seemed to have their own networks for social and economic development.

In network perspective, these groups of networks had weak reciprocity of activities, and their network ties were disconnected (as shown in figure 8.3). In this case, due to these contested network groups that could not work together, mutual trust and reciprocity were active within individual networks (again see figure 8.3) but mainly for individual gain. Such connection in individual networks was missing in GCP working for collective gain because it was not reciprocated across the networks that were built. This implies that GCP working had missed the opportunity to build weak ties, which would facilitate GCP actors accessing resources in other networks.

Secondly, due to the missing network ties for collective working, GCP could only invest in bonding social capital which was built in small groups where network ties were strong. That means GCP missed the opportunity to invest some stocks in bridging and linking social capital. GCP being a collective phenomenon, by relying only on bonding social capital, communities such as D2 (through *msaragambo*) could only utilise their scarce resources for school buildings and failed to access resources from other actors such as the government for other school related supplies. These resources (including power, information, finance, and decision-making) are embedded in the social structure for all GCP actors. However, due to tensions in political and power relations, the powerful and individually-focused actors, as evidence implies, have used their stock in bonding social capital to corrupt local actors for their own benefit.

As the evidence in chapter 9 suggests, there is a possibility of creating productive network ties and social capital for collective development. This perhaps is because GCP is, and will remain, the reliable strategy for Tanzanian rural community development. However, with the prevailing challenge caused by tensions in the contemporary world (neoliberal thinking and individualisation), where individuals are expected to behave, act and develop individualistic instincts, for productive and genuine network ties and social capital, GCP needs a responsive government with a grounded mutual power structure based on transparency and trust.

10.6 Final remarks

The findings of this thesis remain tentative and inconclusive, like most of other academic undertakings, leading to new questions which need to be answered, perhaps, about how GCP working relationships has influenced poverty reduction strategies through the provision of education in Tanzanian rural communities and similar contexts in other developing countries. Indeed, other studies (Bray, 2000b, 2004; Dhillon, 2005; United States Agency for International Development (USAID), 2007; Zacchaeus, 2007) have noted regarding partnerships, and this study has reached that same conclusion, there is no doubt about the significant outcome of people working collectively in the manner of a partnership. This study had therefore concluded that GCP working is, and will remain, a reliable

solution to the socio-economic problems of the rural poor. This perspective concurs with Bray's (2000b) views that partnership is a 'persistent theme'.

However, with the complex nature of GCP working coupled with the diversity of actors involved, who differ in interests, perspectives and purpose (McQuaid, 2000), and the disproportional distribution of power and misuse of it among the top officials. Here is the tension between collective working at village level and the individualising tendency of a modernising country amongst government bureaucrats, politicians, and the rural young people. Therefore, a change in governance system is imperative in the Tanzanian context where collective working (GCP) was considered the heart of national development. That is, a responsive and legitimate government which is accountable, responsible and committed for public good, with transparency, trust and fairness, and actions that consider the participation of all people's voices in decision-making to be valuable assets (Graham *et al.*, 2003). A responsive government is a significant organ in coming up with strategies and a participatory policy resulting from collective decisions, which could make rural areas better places for young people to stay and earn their livings. Contrary to that, even meeting MDGs targets of poverty reduction through education provision by 2015 could be an illusory thought, the same way UNESCO (2011a) has noted that progress with MDGs is insufficient. In other words, with the economic and social forces around the world, if the government will not change, young people will always be striving to search for a better life outside their villages, which undermines the collective spirit of rural communities.

The argument that no country has successfully eradicated poverty without educating its people, and that significant poverty reduction can only be realised if such education can benefit the rural people (Mtey and Sulle, 2013, p.12) remains valid. The findings from this study have demonstrated the high demand for education, and quality education in particular, for rural children and young people to kindle and compete in the labour market economy. However, with the government malfunction in the operation of bureaucracy, coupled with limited or flawed models of community development for GCP working, inadequate finance and a discrepancy between policies and practice, there has been a tendency for policies and plans to focus on school buildings rather than the whole package of education. This has resulted in young people moving to the

cities searching for paid jobs, small businesses and the good life assumed to be available there. GCP in this case, could not maintain young people in the rural villages and for this the collective spirit and traditional actions built through a collective working spirit has declined. The labour force in the rural villages has moved to the cities. By implication, GCP seems to have encountered problems of networking among the various groups of actors and across the generations. From the evidence, in practising GCP, the elders could not transmit the values and norms of working together to the young generation.

The powerful actors at top levels (government officials, bureaucrats and politicians) have been holding onto their hidden agenda for personal gain rather than for community good. That means they are individualistic and manipulative because of the unequal power structures in GCP working, implying a poor governance system. Such context is driven by market-solutions to social problems where local people are blamed, rather than the creators of neoliberal thoughts (Brodie, 2012) and the inefficient governments. Brodie made it clear that people no longer trust their governments that they are working for them. In fact, as this study also discovered, people have given up. They are put off by the greediness of political elites. To the local people, as Brodie (2012, p.119) put it, the system is broken. No matter how hard they work, it is rigged against them. In this account, despite that, the study has suggested the extension of networks in partnerships by inviting other actors for effective and productive GCP working. It seems strengthening network ties and building social capital might not be adequate by itself in effecting community development, but rather, there needs to be a grounded mutual power structure based on transparency and trust.

One other issue emerged in the study which has implications for policy and practice in GCP working, is the context under which GCP was and is practised. While there seem to be contradictions in GCP experiences during *ujamaa* and currently in that the practice seems to be consumed by individualistic thinking, the big picture implies a major common challenge or mistake. That is, while during *ujamaa* the government maintained power, whether deliberately or unconsciously or perhaps because of pressure to recover from the legacy of colonialism by building a socialist self-reliant society, the government ended up creating a somewhat *silent-society*, one that is passively accepting government-led initiatives and decisions.

Contemporary Tanzanian society, on the other hand, is also trying to create a *silent-society*, one that remains passive, where participants and their voices and opinions regarding socio-economic development are rather seen as ‘noise’ and therefore ignored. The main problem is that top leaders, the powerful, are more interested in power retention for personal gain than maintaining genuine GCP working. This is also a major challenge for the proposed partnership – GCP with universities, NGOs and INGOs – who must consider if genuine, quality education and community development for the rural poor Tanzanians have to be achieved for poverty reduction.

Furthermore, due to the advancement of technology and information dissemination in contemporary societies where, to a large extent information and news reach the majority of population including the rural poor in the country, the *silent-society* might not remain silent for long. In fact, there is high possibility of creating a ‘*chaos society*’, which might jeopardise the future of collective community development and GCP working.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Plain Language Statement



Department of Adult and Continuing Education

Title of Project: Government-Community Partnerships in the Provision of Education in Rural Tanzania

My name and details

My name is Amina Nasibu Kamando. I am undertaking a postgraduate degree (PhD) at the University of Glasgow in the UK. My address is University of Glasgow, Faculty of Education, Department of Adult and Continuing Education, St. Andrew's Building, 11 Eldon Street, Glasgow, Scotland, UK, G3 6NH. Email: a.kamando.1@research.gla.ac.uk

Invitation to participate in the research

I would like to invite you to take part in this research. Before you decide whether to take part or not it is important for you to understand, why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask me or my supervisors if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information.

The purpose of the study

For the past three decades, the government of Tanzania has been compelled by circumstances, particularly financial constraints (partly caused by the world economic crisis) which forced the government to adopt the free-market economy system for the provision of social services, including education. Thus, the government had to invite private sectors, non-governmental organizations, religious groups, local communities, families and other willing partners to participate in education provision and sharing the costs it had previously shouldered alone. Since then there has been a mushrooming of schools in the country, both privately and publicly owned. The establishment of public schools depends not only on donors' support but also heavily on local communities' resources. Although such community involvement has not worked to the same level of understanding and articulation in all local communities, their contributions are recognized. This study focuses on the partnerships between government and local communities in the provision of education. The study will explore the nature of government-community partnerships towards the provision of education, focusing on two different communities, of which yours is one. It will also suggest ways forward for an optimal partnership in the light of the local

communities' understanding and experiences. The fieldwork for the study will be carried out over six months.

Choice of participants

You have been chosen to take part in the research because you are an important person in community participation in the provision of education in local communities. Throughout examination of official documents (policies and reforms), and the related materials regarding community involvement in educational development projects and speaking to others about the study, your name came up as someone who might have informed opinions or experiences to comment on the matter. You are among 50 other participants from the two districts that have been asked to participate in the research.

Voluntary participation

Taking part in the research is voluntary. If you do decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign consent form which ensures your anonymity in the project and that your responses will be confidential. If you decide to take part, you are still free to withdraw at any time without giving a reason.

What does taking part in the study involve?

I would like to invite you to take part in interviews and focus group discussions. I will also observe meetings and community activities in which you are involved. I will kindly ask that we meet for a forty five minutes to one hour for interview, and one hour to one and half hours for group discussions at a venue we will agree on. Both interview and group discussions will be audiotaped. I estimate the entire research to take six months to complete with time divided between the two communities.

Your part in this study is confidential

All information, which is collected, about you during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential. You will be identified by an ID number and any information about you will have your name and address removed so that you cannot be recognised from it.

The results of the research study

The results of the study will be used for the purposes of examination for the award of a doctoral degree. At a future time, parts of the completed research might be presented at a conference or submitted for publication in academic journals. Please note that in all future presentations or publications you will not be identified in anyway.

The organisation and funding the research

The research is part of the general fulfilment for the award of a postgraduate degree at the University of Glasgow. The University of Dar-es-Salaam, in Tanzania is facilitating the funding for this study.

Ethical reviewed of the study

The University of Glasgow, Faculty of Education, Ethics Committee, has reviewed the project.

Contact for further information

Please feel free to contact the university's ethics officer and my research supervisors if you would like to raise any issues regarding the conduct of the research. These can be contacted as follows:

a) Research supervisors

Dr. Lesley Doyle, Department of Adult and Continuing Education, Faculty of Education, University of Glasgow. St. Andrew's Building, 11 Eldon Street, Glasgow, Scotland, UK, G3 6NH

Tel: +44 (0) 1413301805, Email l.doyle@educ.gla.ac.uk

Mr. Rod Purcell, Head, Department of Adult and Continuing Education, Faculty of Education, University of Glasgow. St. Andrew's Building, 11 Eldon Street, Glasgow, Scotland, UK, G3 6NH

Tel: +44 (0) 1413301844, Email r.purcel@educ.gla.ac.uk

b) Faculty of Education Ethics Officer

Dr Georgina Wardle, The Faculty of Education Ethics Officer, St. Andrew's Building, 11 Eldon Street, Glasgow, Scotland, UK, G3 6NH. Tel: +44 (0) 1413303426, Email g.wardle@educ.gla.ac.uk

Thank you very much for reading this and taking part in this study

Appendix 2: Consent Form



CONSENT FORM

Title of Project: **Government-Community Partnerships in the Provision of Education in Rural Tanzania**

Name of Researcher: Amina Nasibu Kamando

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the plain language statement for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.
3. I understand that this study aims to protect my anonymity and confidentiality and that this will involve the secure storage of data, a process of de-identification of data and the use of a pseudonym or an ID number in any publication.
4. I consent to (please tick Yes or No):
 - Being interviewed Yes/No
 - The interview being audio tape recorded Yes/No
 - Being involved in a focus group discussion Yes/No
 - The focus group discussion being audio tape recorded Yes/No
 - Observation of meetings which I chair Yes/No
 - Observation of community activities which I lead Yes/No

Name of Participant	Date	Signature
Researcher	Date	Signature

Before this research could be carried out, its purpose and proposed methods were scrutinized and passed by the Faculty of Education Ethics Committee at the University of Glasgow. If you have any concerns regarding the way research is being carried out, you may contact Dr. Georgina Wardle, who is the Faculty of Education Ethics Officer at g.wardle@educ.gla.ac.uk

Appendix 3: Interview Schedule

Question No.	For community members	For ward, village and hamlet leaders	For school heads and school boards/committees	For educational officials
1	What do you know about community involvement in educational projects? Have you ever been involved in a community educational project? If so what was it and how were you involved (what did you do)?	What do you know about community involvement in educational projects? Have you ever been involved in a community educational project? If so what was it and how were you involved (what did you do)?	From your point of view do you see any need for the community to get involved in educational projects or that this should be the remit of central government?	As an education officer in this Region/District/Ward what is your role in relation to the development of education and community participation?
2	From what you know, are people in this area prepared to get involved when there is an educational project involving the community? If yes, why and if not why do you think they are reluctant to get involved?	From what you know, are people in this area eager to get involved when there is an educational project involving the community? If yes, why and if not why do you think they are reluctant to get involved?	Have you or your school been involved in any school-community projects? If, yes, what was it and what was the impact? (Teaching, learning or quality of education in your schools or any other)?	What is the history of community involvement in education provision in this area?
3	Do you see any difference between today and during the <i>ujamaa</i> era regarding how your community is committed to community projects? If so, what is the difference?	Do you see any difference between today and during the <i>Ujamaa</i> era regarding how your community is committed to community projects? If so, what is the difference?	As a policy implementer what is your comment on policy-making decision for education provision and the involvement of community?	In your view, why do you think it is necessary for community members to be involved in community projects that deal with educational issues?

4	In your experience, do the government or community leaders consult your community when there is need for involvement in an educational project or any community project?	In your experience, is your community or you as a community leader consulted by government when there is need for community involvement in an educational project or any community project?	Have decentralization reforms impacted in any way? How your schools and community join up regarding educational projects?	Tell me, what kind of contributions for the provision of education does the government gain from the community members?
5	What challenges does your community face in carrying out these educational projects?	As a community leader, how do you go about mobilising people in educational projects or any other community related projects?	In your experience, is your community or you (school committee member) consulted by government when there is need for community involvement in an educational project or any community project?	As a policy implementer what is your comment on policy-making decision for education provision and the involvement of community?
6		What challenges does your community face in carrying out these educational projects?	In your opinion, do you think community involvement has improved the provision of education in this community? If so in what way?	Tell me, how do you plan activities for the implementation of policies for the provision of education in the community? Who are involved?

7			What challenges does your school face in carrying out educational development projects with the community?	In your opinion, has community participation improved the provision of education in this community? If so in what way?
8				What challenges does your department face in carrying out educational development projects?
9				In your view, what do you think could be an alternative for the provision of education in rural community?

Appendix 4: Focus group discussion guiding topics/questions

Question No.	For community members and Village/hamlet leaders	For school boards/committees members
1	What motivates you to participate in educational development activities?	What roles do you play in school with regard to educational projects undertaken by the community?
2	What are your views of a) community participation and b) educational development activities in current practise?	How does the government involve local communities in this kind of projects?
3	What is the history of community participation in education provision in this area?	In your opinion what are the benefits of community participation in education in this community?
4	What challenges have you or schools you know , face regarding working together with the community on school projects?	What challenges have you or schools you know , face regarding working together with the community on school projects?
5	How do you work with government authorities in relation to education development activities for this community?	How do you work with government authorities in relation to education development activities for this community?

Appendix 5: Guiding issues for observation

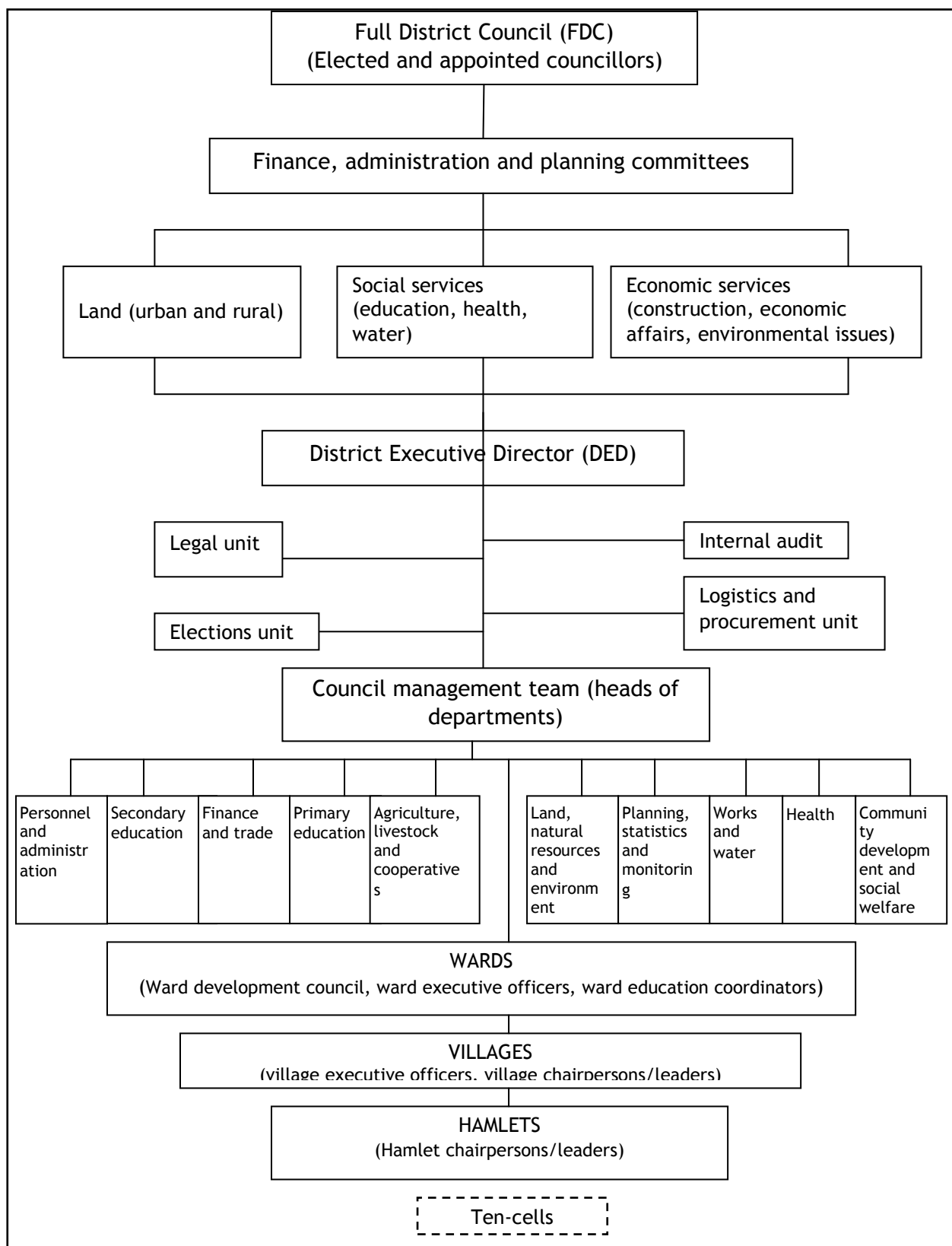
Observation schedule for meetings

Issues to be observed	
Meeting participants	
Topics for discussion	
Chair/role of chair	
Decisions reached	
Who was dominant?	
Relationships between participants	
Tone of meeting	

Observation schedule for collective activities

Issues to be observed	
Kind of participants involved	
Kind of tools for accomplishing tasks	
Duration of activities: Starting time and ending as well as days	
How activities are distributed among individuals	
Relationships between participants	

Appendix 6: Administrative Structure of the District Council



Source: Adopted and modified from Manyoni district council (2010), the capacity-building plan for 2010/2011—for the Regional Administration and Local Government, Prime Ministers' Office; and, from Mwanga district council, the administrative structure of district council (copied from notice board)

Appendix 7: Regional Per Capita GDP at Current Prices, Tanzania Mainland, 1998 to 2004 (TSh. Millions)

Region/ Year	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
1. Arusha	383,893	446,730	510,055	582,554	393,050	388,567	490,460
2. Dar es Salaam	916,280	1,066,259	1,158,513	1,282,449	1,473,226	1,589,174	1,708,343
3. Dodoma	178,947	208,237	226,254	264,197	303,905	324,953	350,621
4. Iringa	284,543	331,118	359,767	424,602	486,091	542,737	605,027
5. Kagera	192,509	224,019	261,739	289,808	327,649	467,959	486,794
6. Kigoma	125,560	146,112	158,754	188,712	212,940	357,088	377,048
7. Kilimanjaro	217,244	252,803	274,676	310,701	352,292	427,374	532,907
8. Lindi	113,905	132,550	144,018	158,814	178,333	229,264	237,683
9. Mara	173,550	201,957	248,316	256,109	288,989	442,805	470,923
10. Mbeya	292,993	340,951	370,450	438,082	501,523	581,086	763,343
11. Morogoro	234,402	272,769	296,370	363,271	413,889	439,142	619,792
12. Mtwara	192,821	237,846	255,028	296,548	333,645	291,834	302,615
13. Mwanza	395,229	459,921	573,094	730,697	847,241	834,329	961,672
14. Coast	111,314	129,534	140,741	155,014	174,066	226,488	234,546
15. Rukwa	191,944	223,362	242,688	249,370	280,838	348,625	390,398
16. Ruvuma	192,412	223,907	242,947	242,630	273,779	376,291	434,203
17. Shinyanga	369,846	430,383	520,504	589,032	677,560	667,311	692,529
18. Singida	153,376	178,481	193,923	202,192	225,126	227,114	235,535
19. Tabora	195,094	227,028	246,671	262,849	296,594	362,872	445,545
20. Tanga	209,450	243,734	281,873	336,986	382,095	418,456	601,615
21. Manyara	-	-	-	-	277,057	273,897	345,721
TANZANIA [Mainland]	5,125,311	5,977,699	6,706,381	7,624,616	8,699,887	9,816,319	11,287,318

Source: United Republic of Tanzania, *National Accounts of Tanzania Mainland*, 2006

Appendix 7.1: Ranking GDP per Regional income

Region/ Year	Regional GDP 2004 [TSh. Million]	Rank by 2004 GDPs	
2. Dar es Salaam	1,708,343	1	In highest quartile
13. Mwanza	961,672	2	In highest quartile
10. Mbeya	763,343	3	In highest quartile
17. Shinyanga	692,529	4	In highest quartile
11. Morogoro	619,792	5	In highest quartile
4. Iringa	605,027	6	
20. Tanga	601,615	7	
7. Kilimanjaro	532,907	8	
1. Arusha	490,460	9	
5. Kagera	486,794	10	
9. Mara	470,923	11	
19. Tabora	445,545	12	
16. Ruvuma	434,203	13	
15. Rukwa	390,398	14	
6. Kigoma	377,048	15	
3. Dodoma	350,621	16	
21. Manyara	345,721	17	In lowest quartile
12. Mtwara	302,615	18	In lowest quartile
8. Lindi	237,683	19	In lowest quartile
18. Singida	235,535	20	In lowest quartile
14. Coast	234,546	21	In lowest quartile

Appendix 8: A letter to school heads reminding them to call board meetings

HALMASHAURI YA WILAYA YA MWANGA (Barua zote ziandikwe kwa Mkurugenzi Mtendaji)

MKOA WA KILIMANJARO

Simu Na.2757652
Fax No. 2757463

(Unapojibu taja)

Kumb. Na. E.10/6/VOL.III/64

Wakuu wa Shule,
Shule za Sekondari,
WILAYANI MWANGA



Idara ya Elimu Sekondari
S.L.P. 68
MWANGA

23 Juni , 2010

YAH: VIKAO VYA BODI ZA SHULE

Ni matumaini yangu kwamba, shule zote za Sekondari ndani ya Wilaya hii zina Bodi za Shule.

Hata hivyo inawezekana Bodi zikawepo lakini hazikutani. Hili linadhihirishwa na malalamiko yanayotufikia kuhusu kutoshirikishwa kwa wajumbe katika kufanya uamuzi. Aidha migogoro inayotokea katika shule zenu inadhihirisha hilo.

Kwa barua hii, Halmashauri ya Wilaya ya Mwanza inawaagiza yafuatayo:-

1. Kila Mkuu wa Shule ahakikishe Bodi yake inakutana siyo chini ya mara nne kwa mwaka (Kila mwanzo na mwisho wa muhula).
2. Mihtasari ya Vikao hivyo iletwe kwa AFISAEILIMU SEKONDARI WILAYA, ambaye ataifungulia jalada maalum.
3. Mihtasari ya vikao hivyo, itatumika kutoa taarifa ya kila shule katika vikao vya Waheshimiwa Madiwani. Aidha itatumika kufuatilia kero na maamuzi ya Kisera

Nawatakia utekelezaji mwema

HALMASHAURI YA WILAYA,
MWANGA

Nakala:-

WILAYA YA MWANGA

- Utekelezaji wa agizo la Wah. Madiwani.
Katika kikao cha tarehe 22/06/2010

WJN/am.

Appendix 9: Photographs selected from fieldwork



Photograph 1: Girls' dormitory in Ward secondary school – community members efforts to protect girls children – district1



Photograph 2: A classroom abandoned because of cracks – inside view – district1



Photograph 3: A falling classroom because of cracks – outside view – district1



Photograph 4: Teachers' house that could not be finished because of the cracks — district1



Photograph 5: A dormitory in the process - Ward secondary school — district1



Photograph 6: Teachers' house at ward secondary school — district2



Photograph 7: Some classrooms at ward secondary school, a result of GCPs — district2



Photograph 8: Some classroom at ward secondary school built by community in collaboration with TASAF²⁸ – district2



Photograph 9: Students from abroad volunteer with the community to build classrooms and dining hall – Ward secondary school – district2



Photograph 10: A primary school toilet in the process. Burnt bricks made and brought by community members – district2

²⁸ TASAF – Tanzania Social Action Fund is a government of Tanzania funding facility organisation provides a mechanism to allow local and village governments to respond to community demands for interventions. It empower communities to access opportunities so they request, implement and monitor subprojects contributing to their livelihood linked to MDGs indicator targets in the Poverty Reduction Strategy